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## I.—THE NOCTES ATTICAE OF AULUS GELLIUS.

It is perhaps not generally realised that a large proportion of the surviving Greek and Latin literature consists of extracts and epitomes. This is the case with almost all the remains of ancient philology, criticism, and lexicography, and with a great part of the remains of ancient history and science; and thus it has come to pass that in Roman literature, for Nepos and Hyginus we have Valerius Maximus; for Verrius Flaccus, Festus and Paulus; for Probus and Pliny, Nonius, Charisius, Servius and Priscian; for Suetonius, Jerome and Isidore.

The passion for making epitomes, selections, *florilegia*, and miscellanies of all kinds began among the Romans in the first century after Christ, and continued in activity for a long subsequent period. The *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius is only one specimen of the results which it produced. Gellius himself tells us (Praef. 6 foll.) of the numerous works of this kind, with their equally numerous titles, that existed in his own day. *Nam quia variam et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam conquisierant, eo titulos quoque ad eam sententiam exquisitissimos indiderunt. Namque alii 'Musarum' inscripserunt, alii 'Silvarum'; ille πέπλον, hic 'Ἀμαλθείας κέρας, alius κηρία, partim λειμώνας, quidam 'Lectionis suae,' alius 'Antiquarum Lectionum,' atque alius ἀνθρῶν, et item alius εὐρημάτων. Sunt etiam qui λύχνους inscripserunt, sunt item qui στρωματεῖς, sunt adeo qui πανδέκτας et Ἑλικῶνα et προβλήματα et*

ἐγχειρίδια et παραξίφιδας. Est qui 'Memoriales' titulum fecerit, est qui πραγματικά et πάρεργα et διδασκαλικά, est item qui 'Historiae Naturalis,' est praeterea qui 'Pratum,' et itidem qui πάγκαρπον, est qui τόπων scripsit. Sunt item multi qui 'Coniectanea,' neque item non sunt qui indices libris suis fecerint aut 'Epistularum Moralium' aut 'Epistularum quaestionum' aut 'Confusarum' et quaedam alia inscripta nimis lepida multasque prorsus concinnitates redolentia. The authors of some of these works are known. The Ἀμαθείας κέρας or Cornu Copiae was by Sotion, the *Antiquae Lectiones* by Caesellius Vindex, the *Historia Naturalis* by Pliny, the *Pratum* by Suetonius, the Πανδέκται by Tullius Tiro. The reference to a *Silvae* may possibly be explained as an allusion to the *Silva Observationum Sermonis Antiqui* by Valerius Probus: possibly Ἀνθηρά may be the *Florida* of Apuleius. *Epistulicae Quaestiones* was the title of a work by Varro, thrice quoted by Gellius (*Noctes Atticae*, 14, 8, 2); *Quaestiones Confusae* was the name given to his miscellaneous collections by Julius Modestus; a book of *Coniectanea* was written by Ateius Capito.

The gentile name of Aulus Gellius shows that he belonged to a very old Italian family. All that is known of his life and career may be briefly put together from his *Noctes Atticae*. He nowhere mentions his birthplace, but he was at Rome when he assumed the *toga virilis* in his sixteenth or seventeenth year (18, 4, 1). The date of his birth is only a matter of approximate inference. His residence as a student at Athens fell after the consulship of Herodes Atticus (143 B. C.), for Atticus is spoken of as *consularis vir* at the time (*Noctes Atticae*, 19, 12; 1, 2, 1). Gellius calls himself *iuuenis* while at Athens (15, 2, 3, and elsewhere): a term which it is surely unnecessary, with Teuffel, to press so far as to make it imply that Gellius was a man of thirty or so in these student years. Supposing him to have resided at Athens from the age of nineteen to that of twenty-three, he must have been born A. D. 123 or thereabouts.

The ordinary educational course in his day began with grammar, and passed through rhetoric to philosophy (10, 19, 1, *adulescentem a rhetoribus et a facundiae studio ad disciplinas philosophiae transgressum*). In grammar he attended, among other lectures, those of the learned Carthaginian scholar Sulpicius Apollinaris, also the master of the emperor Pertinax.<sup>1</sup> In rhetoric one of his favorite

<sup>1</sup> 7, 6, 12, quem in primis sectabar; comp. 20, 6, 1, cum cum Romae adulescentulus sectarer.

teachers was Antonius Julianus, described (19, 9, 2) as *docendis publice iuvenibus magister*, in whose company he seems to have spent many pleasant hours (9, 15). Another was Titus Castricius, a man *gravi atque firmo iudicio* (11, 13, 1), the chief professor of rhetoric in Rome.<sup>1</sup> Gellius also heard Fronto in Rome during his early youth.<sup>2</sup>

In philosophy his tutors were mainly Favorinus and Calvisius Taurus—Calvisius Taurus he heard at Athens, whither he went from Rome after finishing his course of rhetoric,<sup>3</sup> and appears, though to what extent is uncertain, to have studied Aristotle and Plato with him.<sup>4</sup>

Gellius also saw a great deal at Athens of the enigmatical philosopher Peregrinus, surnamed or nicknamed Proteus, of whom he gives a very different account from that of Lucian.<sup>5</sup> Had the eighth book of the *Noctes Atticae* survived we might have heard more of this interesting personage, who figured in the dialogue of the third chapter. During the same time he saw and heard the celebrated rhetorician Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes.<sup>6</sup>

There are several pleasant allusions, scattered up and down the *Noctes Atticae*, to Gellius's student life at Athens; to his boating-trips to Aegina and back (2, 21, 1); his excursion to Delphi (12, 5, 1); the monthly gatherings of students (15, 2, 3, *in conviviiis iuvenum, quae agitare Athenis hebdomadibus lunae sollemne nobis fuit*.)

It was after his return from Athens to Rome that Gellius became intimate with Favorinus,<sup>7</sup> and thus fell under a philosophical influ-

<sup>1</sup> 13, 22, 1, *rhetoricae disciplinae doctor, qui habuit Romae locum principem declamandi ac docendi, summa vir auctoritate gravitateque et a divo Hadriano in mores atque litteras spectatus.*

<sup>2</sup> 19, 8, 1, *adulescentulus Romae, priusquam Athenas concederem.*

<sup>3</sup> 17, 8, 1, *Philosophus Taurus accipiebat nos Athenis. 7, 13, 1, factitatum observatumque hoc Athenis est ab his qui erant philosopho Tauro iunctiores. 19, 6, 2, hoc ego Athenis cum Tauro nostro legissem.*

<sup>4</sup> 7, 10, 1, *Taurus, vir memoria nostra in disciplina Platonica celebratus. 17, 20, 1, Symposium Platonis apud philosophum Taurum legebatur. 19, 6, 2, problemata Aristotelis.*

<sup>5</sup> 12, 11, 1, *Philosophum nomine Peregrinum, cui postea cognomen Proteus factum est, virum gravem atque constantem, vidimus, cum apud Athenas essemus, deversantem in quodam tugurio extra urbem. Cumque ad eum frequenter ventitaremus, multa hercle dicere eum utiliter et honeste audivimus.*

<sup>6</sup> 19, 12; comp. 1, 2, 1.

<sup>7</sup> 14, 1, 1, *Audivimus quondam Favorinum philosophum Romae Graece disserentem egregia atque inlustri oratione. 1, 21, 4, cum Favorino Hygini commentarium*

ence which extended at least beyond the time at which he entered upon professional life.<sup>1</sup> If we may trust the impression left by the *Noctes Atticae*, Favorinus was not merely a technical metaphysician, but also an acute and learned scholar. As is well known, he was the author of works entitled ἀπομνημονεύματα and παντοδαπή ιστορία, the latter of which most probably suggested the form, if indeed it did not supply much of the contents, of the *Noctes Atticae*.

Once returned to Rome, Gellius seems to have entered upon active life, of what kind he does not tell us explicitly; but he was, *homo adulescens* as he says (14, 2, 1), chosen a judge for the decision of private causes. He can hardly have been older than 25 at this time.<sup>2</sup> In one other passage (12, 13, 1) he alludes to his undertaking judicial functions; but in other places his accounts of his life are somewhat vague, though they refer generally to a legal career.<sup>3</sup> There is no mention of elevation to any high office; perhaps the mediocrity which stamps his literary work may have been also obvious in the discharge of his judicial functions.

I now come to the most important and difficult part of my task, which is to give some account, and attempt some analysis, of the *Noctes Atticae*. It appears from the author's preface that before he published this work in its final shape he had laid the foundation for it in a number of excerpts. Praef. 2, *usi autem sumus ordine rerum fortuito, quem antea in excerpendo feceramus. Nam proinde ut librum quemque in manus ceperam seu Graecum seu Latinum, vel quid memoratu dignum audieram, ita, quae libitum erat, cuius cunque generis erant, indistincte atque promisce adnotabam, eaque mihi ad subsidium memoriae quasi quoddam litterarum penus recondebam, etc.*

*egissem.* 10, 12, 9, *Favorinus philosophus, memoriarum veterum exequentissimus.* 16, 3, 1, *cum Favorino dies plerumque totos eram, tenebatque animos nostros homo ille fandi dulcissimus, atque eum, quoquo iret, quasi lingua eius prorsus capti prosequebamur.*

<sup>1</sup> 14, 2, 1, 11, *quo primum tempore a praetoribus lectus in iudices essem . . . a subselliis pergo ad Favorinum philosophum, quem in eo tempore Romae plurimum sectabar.* Comp. 2, 22, 1; 17, 10, 1; 18, 1, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Digest 42, 1, 571, *Quidam consulebat, an valeret sententia a minore viginti quinque annis iudice data.* 50, 4, 8, *ad rem publicam administrandam ante vicenimum quintum annum, vel ad munera quae non patrimonii sunt vel honores, admitti minores non oportet.*

<sup>3</sup> 12, 13, 1, *cum Romae a consulibus iudex extra ordinem datus . . . pronuntiare iussus sum.* 13, 13, 1, *cum ex angulis secretisque librorum ac magistrorum in medium iam hominum et in lucem fori prodissem.* 11, 3, 1, *quando ab arbitris negotiisque otium est.* 16, 10, 1, *otium erat quodam die Romae in foro a negotiis.* Praef. 12, *per omnia semper negotiorum intervalla.*



The title *Noctes Atticae* was given to the book simply as a record of the fact that Gellius began to make his collections during the long winter evenings of his student years at Athens. It is professedly a handbook of miscellaneous information, but aims, as its author expressly says, at being comparatively popular, and regards quality more than quantity in the facts presented. For the presence of some few specimens of recondite learning the author thinks it necessary to apologize.<sup>1</sup>

Gellius does not tell us what is sufficiently obvious to a reader of his book, that he has taken great pains to enliven his lessons by the form in which his scraps of information are presented. Often indeed an extract is simply copied from an older author, and given in its naked simplicity without introduction or citation of authority; but quite as often an attempt is made to set it in the frame of an imaginary dialogue, a description, or an anecdote. The uniformity of the devices employed is amusing. Certain individuals, as Favorinus, Fronto, Castricius, Calvisius Taurus, Sulpicius Apollinaris, figure as the interlocutors in the dialogue; but it is hardly to be supposed that the scenes into which they are introduced are other than fictitious. They may, of course, be taken as giving a general idea of the life of Gellius, his pursuits, and the sphere in which he moved; but they are, in all probability, no more historical than the introductory scenes of Plato's or Cicero's dialogues. As a foil to the instructed scholar or philosopher there often appears a conceited or affected or generally unseasonable individual<sup>2</sup> whose delusions are exposed by the light of superior wisdom. Sometimes the devil's advocate appears in another shape, as in 19, 1, 7, where a rich Asiatic Greek is disagreeable enough, on a sea-voyage, to ask a Stoic philosopher who has shown signs of alarm at a tempest, to explain to him how it is that he has been pale and trembling all the while, while the speaker has given no indication of fear.

<sup>1</sup> Praef. 11, 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> 1, 2, 3, *adulescens philosophiae sectator . . . sed loquacior impendio et promptior.* 1, 10, 1, *adulescenti veterum verborum cupidissimo.* 4, 1, 1, *ostentabat quispiam grammaticae rei ditior scholica quaedam nugalia.* 5, 21, 4, *reprehensor audaculus verborum.* 6, 17, 1, 6, *grammaticum primae . . . celebritatis. . . insolentis hominis incitiam.* 7, 16, 1, *eiusmodi quispiam, qui tumultuariis et inconditis linguae exercitationibus ad famam sese facundiae promiserat.* 8, 10, *grammaticus quidam praestigiosus.* *ib.* 14, *intempestivus quidam de ambiguitate verborum disserens.* 9, 15, 1, *introit adulescens et praefatur arrogantius et elatius.* 11, 7, 3, *vetus celebratusque homo in causis, sed repentina et quasi tumultuaria doctrina praeditus.* 18, 4, 1 *iactator quispiam et venditator Sallustianae lectionis.* 20, 10, 2, *ille me despiciens.*

Were these loquacious or ignorant or conceited individuals to be taken seriously, we should have reason to hold up our hands in horror at the social condition of the second century A. D.; but they are in all probability mere men of straw. In any case they are tedious enough; nor is their constant introduction the only instance of want of skill shown in the composition of the *Noctes Atticae*.

Sometimes, as Mercklin and Kretzschmer<sup>1</sup> have pointed out, the form of the dialogue is not consistently maintained through a whole chapter; thus in 1, 7 Gellius starts by quoting a passage from Cicero's fifth speech against Verres; no indication of time or place is given, yet in §3 the writer proceeds *videbatur compluribus in extremo verbo menda esse*, and in §4 *aderat forte amicus noster*. In 2, 22 an elaborate account of the winds is put into the mouth of Favorinus; the dialogue is continued to the end of §26, yet in §30 Gellius quotes something which he has already attributed to Favorinus as if he had said it himself. There is a similar awkwardness at the end of 5, 21, where an opinion of Sinius Capito, having been originally introduced in the course of a supposed dialogue, is treated as if it had been cited by Gellius. In 13, 21, 9 it is quite clear that the passage discussed by Gellius had really been treated by Probus in the work from which the first part of the chapter is quoted, and this fact is enough to raise a suspicion that the anecdote about Probus is mere padding. A similar remark applies to the end of 19, 8, where there is no real distinction between the observations offered by Gellius himself and those previously put into the mouth of Fronto.

There are other marks of carelessness in composition. Gellius is apt, for instance, to introduce one of his interlocutors twice over, thus Herodes Atticus is described (1, 2) as *vir et Graeca facundia et consulari honore praeditus*, and so 9, 2 *Herodem Atticum, consularem virum ingenioque amoeno et Graeca facundia celebrem*. Antonius Julianus (1, 4, 1), *rhetor perquam fuit honesti atque amoeni ingenii; doctrina quoque ista utiliore (subtiliore, Madvig) ac delectabili veterumque elegantiarum cura et memoria multa fuit; ad hoc scripta omnia tam curiose spectabat, etc.* 19, 9, 1 *Antonius Julianus rhetor, docendis publice iuvenibus magister, Hispano ore florentisque homo facundiae et rerum litterarumque veterum peritus*. Titus Castricius, 11, 13, 1, *disciplinae rhetoricae doctor, gravi atque firmo iudicio vir*. 13, 22, *rhetoricae disciplinae doctor*,

<sup>1</sup> When Mercklin and Kretzschmer are quoted, the reference is to the essay of Mercklin, in the *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, Suppl. III (1860), and to that of Kretzschmer, *De Auli Gellii fontibus*, Greifswald, 1860.

qui habuit Romae locum principem declamandi ac docendi, summa vir auctoritate gravitateque. Apion, 5, 14, qui Πλειστονεϊκῆς appellatus est, litteris homo multis praeditus rerumque Graecarum plurima atque varia scientia fuit. 7, 8, 1, Graecus homo qui Πλειστονεϊκῆς appellatus est, facili atque alacri facundia fuit. Tullius Tiro, 6, 3, 8, M. Ciceronis libertus, sane quidem fuit ingenio homo eleganti et haudquaquam rerum litterarumque veterum indoctus, eoque ab ineunte aetate liberaliter instituto adminiculatore et quasi administro in studiis litterarum Cicero usus est. 13, 9, 1, Tullius Tiro, M. Ciceronis alumnus et libertus adiutorque in litteris studiorum eius fuit.

An extract is sometimes so carelessly torn from its context that marks of the rent are still visible. Thus the epitome of 3, 17 begins *id quoque esse a gravissimus viris memoriae mandatum*, where there is nothing in the previous chapter to lead up to the *quoque*. Exactly in the same way 10, 8, 1, *fuit haec quoque antiquitus militaris animadversio*. 12, 12, 1, *haec quoque disciplina rhetorica* (? *disciplinae rhetoricae*?) *est*. 18, 12, 1, *id quoque habitum est in oratione facienda elegantiae genus*.

Sometimes Gellius alludes or seems to allude to things which he has nowhere said, or proposes discussions which are nowhere started: thus 2, 22, 31, *considerandum igitur est quid sit secundo sole*, a question which is not treated anywhere else; and so it is with 12, 14, 7, *censuimus igitur amplius quaerendum*. 13, 7, 6, *in quibus, quod super ipsa re scriptum invenerimus, cum ipsius Aristotelis verbis in his commentariis scribemus*. 14, 7, 13, *de hac omni re alio in loco plenius accuratiusque nos meminisse scribere* (a discussion on the forms of the *senatus consultum*, which occurs nowhere else, not even in the epitomes of the eighth book). 18, 4, 11, *quos notavi et intulisse iam me aliquo in loco commentationibus istis existimo*.

It should further be observed that the same point is sometimes treated twice in much the same words: compare 2, 26, 9; 3, 9, 9, *palmae termes ex arbore cum fructu evulsus 'spadix' dicitur*: σπάδικα δωριστί vocant avulsum e palma termitem cum fructu. 3, 16, §§18-19, 15, 5, 5, *adfecta . . . ea proprie dicebantur quae non ad finem ipsum sed proxime finem progressa deductave erant*. *Hoc verbum ad hanc sententiam Cicero in hac fecit quam dixit de provinciis consularibus*. The same quotation, with others, is given in 15, 5, 5.

We may now approach the central question, from what authors and from what works does Gellius mainly derive his information?

Like many other ancient writers, Gellius does not think it his duty in all cases to mention his authorities by name. While a large number of his chapters are anonymous, in an equally large number of instances he professes to have taken his information from one of his own contemporaries, Favorinus, Fronto, Castricius, Antonius Julianus, Calvisius Taurus, and so on. But the reader soon becomes convinced that these names are mere *personae* introduced to give an attractive setting to the extracts quoted under them. Deducting, then, this element of illusion, we have to ask what means we have for ascertaining the actual authorities consulted by Gellius? When he quotes Varro, for instance, can we be sure that he has read Varro, or is some intermediate work the source of his information?

Mercklin has called attention to a remarkable fact affecting Gellius's manner of quotation. We find that an ancient work is, in one place, cited under its proper title, while in another it is mentioned as if that title were unknown to the writer. Thus in 14, 3, 4 Plato's *Laws* is spoken of as *quidam liber*, while in 15, 2, §§3 and 4, Gellius seems to be aware that there was a work by Plato, *De Legibus*, and so again in 20, 1, 4. It sometimes, too, happens that the same work is quoted under slightly different titles; a fact, perhaps, of less importance. But the case of Plato's *νόμοι* makes it almost certain that Gellius did not know that work at first hand; and one instance is enough to make us justly suspicious in many more. Let us, for example, take 2, 21, 8, where Gellius gives the impression of citing, at first hand, Varro's opinion on the word *seplemtriones*. A comparison of this passage with the similar one in Festus, p. 339 (Müller), leads almost irresistibly to the conclusion that Gellius's immediate authority was not Varro, but Verrius Flaccus quoting Varro.

Mercklin accuses our author, in one case, of something very like downright inveracity. In 9, 4, Gellius professes to quote from Aristéas, Isogonus, Ctesias, Onesicritus, Philostephanus, and Hegesias, certain wonderful stories, adding that he found *in isdem libris scriptum quod postea in libro quoque septimo Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiae legi*. Now the first part of the chapter of Gellius (or rather much of the substance of it) is also to be found in Pliny 7, §11 foll., and Mercklin therefore infers that Gellius is indebted to Pliny for this part as well. In this instance, I am inclined to think, he is too hard upon Gellius. The difference of language between Gellius and Pliny is so considerable that it seems to me most probable that the two writers are here using the same authorities.

In 17, 15 Gellius borrows his whole account of the two kinds of hellebore from Pliny 25, 47 foll. But Pliny's name is not mentioned until the sixth section, and then only in such a way as to put the reader off the scent. The two following chapters, however, which contain stories of Mithridates and his knowledge of medicine and of languages, although they may be found in Pliny (25, 6; 29, 24) in a shorter form, contain some information which is absent from his text, and must therefore be taken from some common authority, perhaps the memoirs of Pompeius Lenæus.

The instance of 17, 15 will serve as a specimen of what we must look for throughout the whole of the *Noctes Atticæ*. Gellius often alludes to his authority, but gives the false impression that only a part of the chapter in which it is mentioned is borrowed from him.

It sometimes, to all appearance, happens that Gellius makes extracts from more than one work in the same chapter. At the end of 3, 9, for instance, after speaking of some proverbial expressions, he goes out of his way to inform us that *spadix* and *poeniceus* mean one and the same thing; at the end of 9, 1 there is a remark of a lexicographical character on the word *defendo*; so at the end of 10, 3 on *Bruttiani*, of 13, 11 on *bellaria*, of 13, 22 on *crepidarius*, of 20, 5 on *cognobilis*. Mercklin thinks the same was the case in other places.

Perhaps the best way of getting an approximate idea of the character of the works consulted by Gellius will be to analyse his whole book according to the subjects of which it treats. In this way we shall obtain a *conspectus* of its general scope, and shall also be able to establish a visible connection, not only between some neighboring chapters, but between distant parts of the *Noctes Atticæ*. This connection is sometimes so close as to lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the kindred sections belong to the same original work.

The *Noctes Atticæ* is a work of such miscellaneous contents that it is impossible to make an entirely satisfactory table of them. A margin of unclassified matter must remain, whatever principle of arrangement be adopted. A rough distribution of the main bulk into certain great divisions is however possible. We may take as the first branch that of philosophy, understanding that term to include metaphysics, psychology, logic, and morals.

The true as distinguished from the false study of philosophy is touched upon briefly in 1, 2, and 10, 22; but there is nothing in these chapters which should lead us to connect them. 5, 15, *cor-*



*pusne sit vox an ἀσώματος, varias esse philosophorum sententias*, is evidently from the same source as the following chapter, *de vi oculorum deque videndi rationibus*. The authority is at least as late as the Ciceronian age, and almost certainly Latin, as Lucretius and Ennius are quoted. The first and second chapters of the seventh book, in which the opinions of Chrysippus on Providence and on Fate are discussed, are no less obviously akin, and probably from the same source; which, if we may press the fact that Cicero is quoted at the end of the second chapter, was presumably a late one. The first chapter of the fourteenth book, *dissertatio Favorini philosophi adversus eos qui Chaldaei appellantur et ex coetu motibusque siderum et stellarum fata hominum dicturos pollicentur*, deals with a cognate subject.

Turning to ethics, we find a discussion as to the nature of the *summum bonum* between a Stoic and Peripatetic in the first chapter of the eighteenth book; the doctrine of Chrysippus *περὶ καλοῦ καὶ ἡδονῆς* as applied to the character of justice is expounded in 14, 4. Connected in subject with the latter is 9, 5, in which various philosophical views of pleasure, concluding with that of the Stoic Hierocles, are presented. Three chapters on the relation of reason to passion (1, 26; 12, 5; 19, 1) are closely connected, and may come from the same manual (a very late one), or set of lectures. The first, on anger, purports to be from Taurus and Plutarch; the second, which is also professedly from Taurus, deals with the Stoic theory of bearing pain; the third gives the opinion of Epictetus on the subject of fear. We may mention in this connection the discourse of Herodes Atticus against *ἀπάθεια* (19, 12).

The following chapters touch on various points of logic: 11, 12 (Chrysippus on ambiguous terms); 15, 26 (a proposed Latin translation of Aristotle's definition of a syllogism); 16, 8 (Latin equivalents for several Greek technical terms); 5, 10, 11 (the argument called *ἀντιστρέφον*, again treated in 9, 16); 18, 13 (a story of a fallacy tried unsuccessfully upon Diogenes). Of these 16, 8 deserves the most attention; I am tempted to think that it comes from Varro, whether from the lost twenty-fourth book of the *de Lingua Latina*, quoted in the fourth section, or from the *Disciplinae*.

The eighth and ninth chapters of the second book are from Plutarch; the second, fourth, fifth and sixth of the nineteenth book from the *Problemata* of Aristotle, though in the fifth chapter the debt is not quite directly acknowledged.

The ninth chapter of the first book, the eleventh of the fourth, and the fifth of the eleventh, touch on points connected with the history of philosophy: the first two treating of the Pythagorean discipline; the last, of the difference between Pyrrhonists and Academics.

We may now pass on to another head, that of ethical principles applied. Here some sort of classification is possible, though there are hardly any *data* for inference as to authorities. Four chapters (9, 2; 12, 11; 13, 8; 13, 24) treat of the relation of philosophy to conduct; of these, one (12, 11) contains a *dictum* of Peregrinus, *virum sapientem non peccaturum esse, etiamsi peccasse eum di atque homines ignoraturi forent*; the other three are protests lodged in various forms against diletantism and hypocrisy in the philosophical profession. Two of these (13, 8; 13, 24) have a distinctly Roman tinge.

Four chapters are devoted to questions of casuistry. In 1, 3 Favorinus, quoting Theophrastus and Cicero, starts the problem *an pro utilitate amicorum delinquendum aliquando sit*. The second and third (1, 13 and 2, 7) open in very much the same way, *in officiis capiendis, censendis, iudicandisque, quae καθήκοντα philosophi appellant, quaeri solet, etc.* *Quaeri solitum est in philosophorum disceptationibus, an semper, etc.* Does this fact point to identity of source? The first discusses the question whether the letter or the spirit of an order is to be taken as the more important; the second, how far a parent's commands are to be taken as binding. Both questions are approached from a Roman point of view. The remaining casuistical chapter is 14, 2, where Gellius consults Favorinus *de officio iudicis*.

A number of exhortations to particular virtues and warnings against particular vices should be mentioned here. 1, 17 (from Varro), *de tollendis vitiis uxoris*. 2, 12, Solon's law enforcing the duty of taking a part in political dissensions, and Favorinus's view about a similar duty in private life. 12, 1, *Favorinus suadet nobili feminae uti liberos quos peperisset non nutricum aliarum sed suo sibi lacte aleret*. 13, 28, Panaetius *de cavendis iniuriis*. 17, 19, Epictetus (quoted by Favorinus) ἀνέχον καὶ ἀπέχον. 1, 15, Favorinus against the vice of loquacity. 6, 16; 15, 19, Varro (περὶ ἐδεσμάτων) against luxury. 9, 8 (Favorinus), *qui multa habet, multis eget*. 15, 8, an ancient orator *de cenarum atque luxuriae opprobratione*. 7, 11 (Metellus Numidicus), *cum inquinatissimis hominibus non esse convivio decertandum*. 8, 6 (Taurus, from Theophrastus and

Cicero), *cum post offensiunculas in gratiam redeatur, expostulationes fieri mutuas minime utile esse*. 10, 19 (Taurus), *non purgari neque levare peccatum cum praetenditur peccatorum, quae alii quoque peccaverunt, similitudo*.

A transition is natural from the last head to the *exempla* or remarkable instances of praiseworthy conduct cited in the *Nocles Atticae*. Among these two only are from Greek history, the story of the habits of Socrates put into the mouth of Favorinus (2, 1), and that told by Taurus (7, 10) about the youth of Euclides. The rest are Roman, and are as follows: 1, 14, the story of Fabricius and the Samnites; 2, 2, the two Fabii, father and son; 4, 8, Fabricius Luscinus and the avaricious Rufinus; 6, 18, the sanctity of oaths among the ancient Romans; 6, 19, Ti. Gracchus and Scipio Asiaticus; 7, 8, Scipio's continence; 7, 9, Cn. Flavius the *scriba*; 12, 4, Ennius's character as sketched by himself; 12, 8, the reconciliation of P. Scipio and Ti. Gracchus; 15, 12, C. Gracchus on his own quaestorship.

Of the authorities for some of these stories something certain may be said, at least on the negative side. Gellius has not borrowed anything from Valerius Maximus, natural as it would seem that he should have done so. In 12, 7, §8, after relating the story of Cn. Dolabella and the woman who was brought before him at Smyrna on the charge of poisoning her son and husband, he says *scripta haec historia est in libro Valeri Maximi factorum et dictorum memorabilium octavo*. Yet any careful reader of Gellius's narrative must see that although he has read Valerius Maximus (8, 1, 2 *damn.*), he has not copied him, for he adds two details about which Valerius is silent: *venenis clam datis*, of the one murder; *exceptum insidiis*, of the other. Again, let us compare Gellius 1, 14 with Valerius Maximus 4, 3, 6. The story (of C. Fabricius and the Samnite envoys) is told by Gellius in a far fuller and more characteristic manner than by Valerius. Gellius professes to take it from Hyginus, *de vita rebusque inlustrium virorum*, which was probably the common authority for both writers. Both writers again have a story about Fabricius Luscinus and Cornelius Rufinus (Gellius 4, 8, Valerius Maximus 2, 9, 4) which occurs in a different context in Gellius from that in which it is set by Maximus. The style of Gellius's narrative in this case tempts me to suppose that it is from the hand of a classical writer, such as Hyginus or Nepos. The work of Nepos called *exempla* is quoted explicitly by Gellius when, in the eighteenth chapter of his sixth book, he is narrating

the history of the ten captives who returned to Rome after Cannae; indeed it is not impossible that the whole of the chapter comes from this work. The same may be the case with the story in the following chapter about Ti. Gracchus and Scipio Asiaticus, which is given in an abridged form by Valerius Maximus (4, 1, 8). For Gellius begins by saying *pulchrum atque liberale atque magnanimum factum Ti. Sempronii Gracchi in exemplis repositum est*. The story of Scipio's continence (7, 8) is apparently drawn from an older source than the version given by Valerius Maximus (4, 3, 1). The relation between the two writers is, I think, the same with regard to the two narratives given by Gellius 12, 8, and Valerius Maximus 4, 2, 3; 4, 2, 1.<sup>1</sup> Thus in six instances it is highly probable that Gellius follows an authority older than Valerius Maximus; in one of them he expressly cites Hyginus, in another Nepos; and it is therefore not rash to infer that he is indebted to these two writers for a considerable part of his information under the head which we have been discussing.

Five chapters of the *Noctes Atticae* are devoted to natural philosophy; these are 2, 22, on the winds; 2, 26, on the names of colors; 2, 30, on the effect of different winds on the motion of the waves; 9, 1, on the direction of blows as influencing their strength. Of these, chapters 2, 22 and 2, 30 must be derived from the same sources as the corresponding passages in Pliny (2, 126 foll.)

There are also four chapters on points of human pathology; 3, 16 (*temporis varietas in puerperis mulierum*), partly from Varro. 4, 19, again from Varro, *de moderando victu puerorum inpubium*. 17, 11, from Plutarch, *de habitu atque natura stomachi*. 18, 10, *errare istos, qui in exploranda febris venarum pulsus pertemptari putant, non arteriarum*.

The department of rhetoric is not very fully represented in the *Noctes Atticae*. The notes which fall under this head consist mainly of criticisms on passages in the ancient orators from Cato to Cicero, and exhibit a considerable similarity; but it is hardly possible to infer anything as to their source. Indeed it is not impossible that they come, as they profess to do, from the contemporaries of Gellius himself. We may notice as kindred in spirit

<sup>1</sup> Mercklin thinks that the story of Aemilius Lepidus and Fulvius Flaccus comes directly from Valerius Maximus. There seems, however, to be nothing in the language to necessitate such a conclusion, while of the preceding story about the older Africanus and Ti. Gracchus, Gellius gives a fuller, and therefore probably an older, version.

the remarks of Castricius upon Metellus Numidicus (1, 6), and the defence of Cato against the strictures of Tullius Tiro (6, 3). In both chapters the point insisted on is the difference between the manner suitable to an advocate and that suitable to a statesman. Perhaps we may also connect 12, 12 and 16, 2, which deal with the art of reply. Cicero is defended against captious criticism in 1, 4 and 17, 5. The remaining chapters do not admit of any classification; they are 9, 15 (a case of ἀπορον or *inexplicabile*); 17, 12 (*materiae infames*); 17, 20 (a translation of a passage in Plato's *Symposium*).

If the contributions of Gellius to the art of rhetoric are scanty, the same cannot be said of the passages of ancient literary criticism which he has preserved. Twenty-eight chapters are devoted to this subject, some of which may be easily arranged together as containing similar matter. Nine are given to the question of translation or adaptation from Greek into Latin. These are 2, 23, where Caecilius is compared, much to his disadvantage, with Menander; 11, 4, a criticism of a translation from Euripides by Ennius. 2, 27, where Castricius is represented as contrasting Sallust's description of Sertorius with that of Philip by Demosthenes. 8, 8 and 17, 20, which touch upon Gellius's own efforts at rendering Plato. 9, 9; 13, 27; 17, 10, comparisons with the originals of Vergil's renderings or adaptations of Theocritus, Homer, Parthenius, and Pindar. 19, 11, a translation by a friend of Gellius of some erotic verses by Plato. It is natural to suppose that some of these criticisms are taken from a manual in which the whole question of translation was discussed. Such a work, in all probability, was the *ὁμοιόητες* of Octavius Avitus, mentioned by Suetonius in his life of Vergil.

1, 10 and 11, 7 contain protests against the affectation of anti-quarianism in writing. General remarks on style will be found in 2, 5 (a short comparison between Plato and Lysias); 10, 3, where the styles of Gracchus and Cicero are contrasted; 16, 1 (the expression of the same thought by Cato and Musonius). 11, 13, and 14, which contain the praises of C. Gracchus and the historian L. Piso, seem to be intimately connected. Other chapters falling under this head are 15, 24 (the metrical criticism of Roman comedians by Volcatius Sedigitus); 6, 14, where Varro's distinction between the three styles (*uber, gracilis, mediocris*) is quoted; 18, 8 (Lucilius on *ὁμοιοτέλευτα*); and 12, 2 (Seneca upon Ennius and Cicero).

Three chapters (3, 1; 4, 15; 10, 26) are devoted to criticism,



mainly defensive, of Sallust, whose abrupt and antiquarian style appears to have attracted a great deal of attention on the part of scholars and literary men. Three again (5, 8; 9, 10; 10, 16) contain pleadings in defence of Vergil against strictures of Hyginus and Cornutus, taken possibly from the work of Asconius *contra obrectatores Vergilii*. In 15, 6 attention is drawn to a mistake of Cicero's. Finally, 3, 3 deals (after Varro) with the question of the genuine and spurious plays of Plautus.

History and biography absorb thirty-six chapters. Among these we may fairly distinguish the following groups: (1) 1, 23; 9, 11, 13, on Roman *cognomina* (Praetextatus, Corvinus, and Torquatus). These notices are so similar in tone and composition as to suggest the inference that they come from the same source, which may have been perhaps the work of Cornelius Epicadus, Sulla's freedman, on *cognomina*. It should be observed that the twenty-third chapter of the first book is verbally identical with a passage in the first book of Macrobius's *Saturnalia* (1, 6, 18 foll.). It has been of course assumed that Macrobius borrowed from Gellius; but against this hypothesis it may be urged that Macrobius goes on to supplement the story about Praetextatus by further information respecting other *cognomina* unknown to Gellius, and this in such a natural and easy way as to lead us to suppose that the whole passage is taken from some book which dealt in a comprehensive way with the whole subject. We should probably have known more of this work and its contents had the last book of Nonius been preserved. (2) Six chapters (1, 24; 3, 3; 8, 15; 12, 4; 13, 2; 17, 14) are devoted to interesting passages in the lives of Latin poets. In one of these cases the relation between Gellius and Macrobius is precisely the same as that which has just been considered. I allude to the notice of Publilius Syrus, which is fuller in Macrobius 2, 7 than in Gellius 17, 14. Is Varro the authority for these fragments of biography? he is expressly quoted in 1, 24, and 3, 3. (3) Fragments of biographies of Greek poets are preserved 3, 11; 15, 20; 17, 4. The last of these comes ostensibly from the *Chronicon* of Apollodorus, but may well have been taken from Varro's adaptations from that work; for Varro is actually cited in 3, 11. (4) Another group of chapters (5, 3; 13, 5; 14, 3; 20, 5) deals with lives of Greek philosophers; while (5) a large number contains notes of remarkable facts from Roman history (1, 13 end; 2, 11; 3, 7, 8; 4, 14, 18; 7, 3, 4; 10, 27, 28; 15, 4, 11; 18, 22). We are here brought back to the question of

the relation between Gellius and Valerius Maximus, and are led to the same conclusion as before. Gellius generally transcribes, not from Maximus, but from writers much older. Both authors give a catalogue of the exploits of L. Sicinius Dentatus (Maximus 3, 2, 24; Gellius 2, 11). The facts narrated are the same, but the style of Gellius is simpler and more antique, and Valerius Maximus expressly mentions Varro among his authorities. It is therefore possible that Gellius has preserved the account given by Varro. The story of Pyrrhus and the consuls Fabricius and Aemilius is given by Gellius (3, 8) directly from Claudius Quadrigarius; Valerius Maximus's version (6, 5, 1) is much shorter. So again the history of Scipio Africanus and his accusers is told more fully and accurately by Gellius (4, 18) than by Valerius (3, 7, 1). A similar remark applies to the accounts of the death of Regulus (Maximus 9, 2, Ext. 1; Gellius 7, 4). For the rest, 10, 27 (*historia de populo Romano deque populo Poenico, quod pari propemodum vigore fuerint aemuli*) bears the name of Varro; 10, 28 (the classes of Servius Tullius), that of Tubero. 15, 4 (*historia de Ventidio Basso*) must be from Suetonius, whose name appears at the end of the chapter; and so perhaps 15, 11 (*de exigendis urbe Roma philosophis*), the authority of which is later than the accession of Domitian.

To arithmetic and geometry a few sections only are given: 1, 1 (from Plutarch), *de comprehendenda corporis proceritate qua fuit Hercules*. 1, 20, containing Latin equivalents for Greek geometrical terms. 3, 10, *septenarii numeri vis et facultas*. 16, 18, *lepida quaedam et memoratu et cognitu de parte geometriae quae ὀπτικὴ appellatur, etc.* 18, 14, *quid sit numerus hemiolios, quid epitritos; et quod vocabula ista non facile nostri ausi sunt convertere in linguam Latinam*. 18, 15, *quod M. Varro in herois versibus observaverit rem nimis anxiae et curiosae observationis*. Of these four, 1, 20; 3, 10; 16, 18; 18, 15, bear the name of Varro, 18, 15 quoting expressly from his work entitled *Disciplinae*. It is highly probable that 1, 20; 16, 18; 18, 14 come from the same treatise.

The name of Gellius is perhaps most familiarly connected in the minds of modern students with the subject of Roman antiquities, social, political, and religious. To this upwards of thirty chapters, and those on the whole very important, are set apart. The following groups may be distinguished: (1) notes on religious antiquities. 1, 12, perhaps from Antistius Labeo, *virgo Vestae quid aetatis et ex quali familia et quo ritu quibusque caerimoniis et religionibus*,

ac quo nomine a pontifice maximo capiatur, et quo statim iure esse incipiat simul atque capta est; quodque, ut Labeo dicit, nec intestato cuquam nec eius intestatae quisquam iure heres est. 10, 15, de flaminis Dialis deque flaminicae caerimoniis; verbaque ex edicto praetoris apposita quibus dicit non coacturum se ad iurandum neque virgines Vestae neque Dialem; this chapter bears the names of Varro and Masurius Sabinus. 2, 28, apparently from Varro, non esse compertum cui deo rem divinam fieri oporteat, cum terra movet. (2) On social customs. 2, 15, quod antiquitus aetati senectae potissimum habiti sunt ampli honores, et cur postea ad maritos et ad patres idem isti honores delati sint; the authority is uncertain, but not older than the *leges Iuliae*. 5, 13, de officiorum gradu atque ordine moribus populi Romani observato. This chapter quotes from Masurius Sabinus. 6, 4, cuiusmodi servos et quam ob causam Caelius Sabinus, iuris civilis auctor, pilleatos venum dari solitos scripserit. 6, 12, de tunicis chiridotis: quod earum usum P. Africanus Sulpicio Gallo obiecit. The authority for this chapter must be later than Vergil, who is quoted in it. 10, 23, de mulierum veterum victu et moribus; perhaps from Varro. 11, 6, in which Varro is quoted, quod mulieres Romae per Herculem non iuraverint neque viri per Castorem. (3) 4, 3, and 4, on points of the Roman marriage laws, from Servius Sulpicius de dotibus. (4) Notes on the powers of certain high officers: the censors, 4, 12, 20; 6, 22, the aediles and quaestors, 13, 12, and 13, mostly from Varro. 14, 7, de officio senatus habendi; 8, an praefectus Latinarum causa ius senatus convocandi consulendique habeat, both from Ateius Capito. (5) Questions of military antiquities. 5, 6, de coronis militaribus, partly at least from Masurius Sabinus. 10, 8, inter ignominias militares quibus milites exercebantur fuisse sanguinis dimissionem. 10, 9, quibus modis quoque habitu acies Romana instrui solita sit. 10, 25, telorum et iaculorum gladio- rumque, atque inibi navium quoque vocabula, quae scripta in veterum libris reperiuntur. This last chapter should be compared with the thirteenth and nineteenth books of Nonius and parts of the eighteenth and nineteenth of Isidore's *Origines*. The three accounts have the appearance of coming from a common authority, which was probably the *Pratum* of Suetonius. 16, 4, the ancient form of declaring war, and the military oath. This chapter has in §5 matter given also by Paulus, p. 112. (6) Extracts from the augur Messala's work de auspiciis, the pomerium, the minores and maiores magistratus; aliud esse contionem habere, aliud cum

*populo agere*; 13, 14; 15, 16. We should also mention the following chapters: 3, 2, on the Roman day, from Varro, supplemented by an early commentator on Vergil. This account is to be found in Macrobius Sat. 1, 3, continued and completed. 5, 19, quoting Masurius Sabinus, on adoption. 15, 27 (Laelius Felix from Labeo), on the *comitia*.

There are also four chapters on legal history: 2, 24, on the *leges sumptuariae*, from the *coniectanea* of Ateius Capito. 6, 15, and 11, 18, on *furtum*, from Antistius Labeo and Masurius Sabinus respectively; and 20, 1, professedly a dialogue between Caecilius and Favorinus on some passages in the twelve tables.

But Latin lexicography is the subject which absorbs most of the chapters that can be assigned to any single branch of learning. If I am not mistaken, more than one hundred chapters, about a quarter of the whole work, are devoted to it. Among these we may without difficulty distinguish five groups, which should perhaps be respectively assigned to different authorities. The first of these groups, embracing by far the largest part of the whole, contains articles of pure lexicography, as follows. 1, 16, on the use of *mille* in the singular, compare Festus, p. 153, *mille singulariter dicebant*. Macrobius has the same note (1, 5, 4 foll.)

1, 25, *indutiae*.

2, 4, *divinatio*. (Partly from Gavius Bassus *de origine vocabulorum*.)

2, 10, *favisae*. Compare Paulus, p. 88.

2, 16, *postumus*. Partly from Caesellius Vindex.

2, 19, *rescire*.

2, 21, *septem triones*. Compare Festus, p. 339.

3, 9, *equus Seianus, aurum Tolosanum*. From Gavius Bassus and Julius Modestus.

3, 16, §§18, 19, *adfectus*.

3, 18, *pedarii senatores*. Gavius Bassus is mentioned, but the bulk of the note may be from Verrius Flaccus, compare Festus, p. 210.

4, 1, *penus*. The latest authority quoted is Masurius Sabinus, but the word was treated by Verrius; see Festus, p. 250.

4, 6, *praecidaneus* and *succidaneus*. Compare Festus, pp. 218, 302.

4, 9, *religiosus*. Compare Festus, pp. 278, 289.

4, 12, *impolitiae*. Compare Paulus, p. 108.

5, 12, *Veiovis*. Compare Festus, p. 379, and for the note on *Lucetius*, Paulus, p. 114.

5, 17, *dies atri*. This note is avowedly from Verrius Flaccus, and so also the following one (5, 18) on *historia* and *annales*.

5, 21, *pluria, compluria, compluriens*. Compare Paulus, p. 59; the note, however, professes to come from Sennius Capito.

6, 4, *sub corona venire*. Compare Festus, p. 306, who quotes the same passage from Cato, so that the article, though taken directly from Caelius Sabinus, may ultimately come from Verrius Flaccus.

6, 13, *classicus, infra classem*. For the latter compare Paulus, p. 113, and for *classicus*, Paulus, p. 56, on *classici testes*.

6, 17, *obnoxius*.

7, 5, *purus putus*. From Verrius; see Festus, p. 217.

7, 16, *deprecor*.

8, 10, *halophanta*. Compare Paulus, p. 101.

8, 12, *plerique omnes*.

8, 13, *cupsones*.

8, 14, words from Naevius and Cn. Gellius.

9, 1, §8, *defendo*.

10, 3, §18, *Bruttiani*. Probably from Verrius; compare Paulus, p. 31.

10, 11, *maturus, praecox* (= Macrobius 6, 8, 7 foll.)

10, 13, *cum partim*.

10, 14, *contumelia mihi factum itur*.

10, 20, *lex, rogatio*, etc. For *privilegium* compare Paulus, p. 226.

10, 29, *atque, deque*.

11, 1, *Italia, multa*. For *Italia* compare Paulus, p. 106.

11, 2, *elegans*.

11, 3, *pro*. Compare Paulus, p. 228.

11, 7, *apluda, flocces, bovinator*. For *apluda* and *bovinator* compare Paulus, pp. 10, 30.

11, 11, *mentiri* and *mendacium dicere*. From Nigidius Figulus.

11, 17, *retare flumina*. Compare Festus, p. 273.

12, 10, *aeditumus*. Compare Paulus, p. 13.

12, 13, *intra Kalendas*.

12, 14, *saltem*.

13, 1, *fatum* and *natura*.

13, 11, §7, *bellaria*. Compare perhaps Paulus, p. 35.

13, 17, *humanitas*.

13, 18, *inter os atque offam*.

13, 22, §§7, 8, *gallicae, crepidarius*.

13, 23, *Nerio, Neriene*.



- 13, 25 (beginning), *manubiae*.  
 13, 29, *multi mortales*.  
 13, 30, *facies*.  
 13, 31, *caninum prandium*.  
 15, 30, *petorritum*. Compare Paulus, p. 207.  
 16, 5, *vestibulum*. The remarks on *vescus* closely resemble the note on this word in Paulus, p. 368.  
 16, 6, *bidens*. This note is either from Hyginus, as it professes to be, or from Verrius Flaccus; compare Paulus, p. 35.  
 16, 9, *susque deque*. The note on this phrase in Festus, p. 290, has nothing in common with this chapter.  
 16, 10, *proletarii, adsidui*. Compare Paulus, pp. 9, 226.  
 16, 13, *municipium* and *colonia*.  
 16, 14, *festinare* and *properare*. From Verrius Flaccus.  
 16, 16, *Agrippa*.  
 16, 17, *Vaticanus collis*. This and the preceding note are from Varro's *Rerum Divinarum*.  
 17, 6, *servus recepticius*. Suggested by a passage in the *de obscuris Catonis* of Verrius Flaccus.  
 17, 13, various meanings of *quin*.  
 18, 2, §12 foll., *verare*.  
 18, 7, *contio*. Avowedly from Verrius Flaccus.  
 18, 9, *inseco*. Ultimately, perhaps, from Verrius; compare Paulus, p. 111, s. v. *insece*.  
 19, 10, *praeter propter*.  
 19, 13, *nanus*. Compare Festus, p. 176.  
 20, 2, *siticines*. Professedly from Ateius Capito and Caesellius Vindex.  
 20, 3, *sicinnista*.  
 20, 5, §13, *cognobilis*.  
 20, 10, *ex iure manu consortum*.  
 20, 11, *sculna*. From Lavinius *de verbis sordidis*.  
 A considerable number of these notes, it will have been observed, coincides to a greater or less extent with articles in Festus or Paulus, and may therefore with some probability be referred to Verrius Flaccus.  
 The second group of lexicographical notices contains remarks on the usages of particular authors.  
 12, 15, adverbs used by Sisenna.  
 17, 2, words found in the *annales* of Claudius Quadrigarius.  
 19, 7, words used by Laevius.

- 17, 1, Cicero's use of *paenitere*.
- 10, 26, peculiar usages of Sallust.
- 15, 25; 20, 9, words invented by Matius.
- 16, 7, bold expressions of Laberius.
- 18, 11, expressions of Furius Antias, objected to by Caesellius Vindex.

2, 6; 7, 6; 8, 5, peculiarities in the diction of Vergil; defended against the attacks of Hyginus or Cornutus.

The Vergilian notes, as they are all defensive, may perhaps come from Asconius *contra obrectatores Vergilii*. Some of the others may possibly be referred to Caesellius Vindex, who is mentioned in 18, 11.

The third group consists of remarks on words which had changed their meaning since the classical period.

- 1, 22, *superesse*.
- 2, 20, *vivaria*.
- 6, 11, *levitas* and *nequitia*.
- 8, 14, words used in unusual senses by Naevius and Cn. Gellius.
- 10, 21, *novissimus* and *novissime*.
- 13, 6, *barbarismus*.
- 15, 5, *profligare*.

The similarity of these articles tempts one to refer them to a separate work.

Fourthly, there are a few articles treating of differences of meaning between words apparently synonymous. These are

3, 12, *bibax* and *bibosus*. From the *commentarii grammatici* of Nigidius Figulus.

3, 14, *dimidium* and *dimidiatum*.

4, 2, *morbis* and *vitium*. The latest authority quoted is Caelius Sabinus.

13, 3, *necessitudo* and *necessitas*.

18, 4, *vanus* and *stolidus*. Ultimately, perhaps, from Nigidius.

18, 6, *matrona* and *mater familias*. Aelius Melissus corrected by a reference, in all probability, to Verrius Flaccus; compare Paulus, p. 125, s. v. *matrona* and *mater familias*.

Fifthly, three chapters deal with words of double meaning: 8, 14; 9, 12, *formidolosus*, *infestus*, *nescius*, etc., and adjectives used in both an active and a passive sense. Part of this note is from Nigidius. 12, 9, *periculum*, *venenum*, *contagium*, *honor*, all of which, it is observed, are used both in a good and a bad sense.

Etymology is represented by ten chapters: 1, 18, a discussion, started by a passage in Varro, on the derivation of *fur*; 3, 19, on

*parcus*, from Gavius Bassus *de origine verborum et vocabulorum*; 5, 7, from the same work, on *persona*; 7, 12, in which it is shown that *sacellum* is not a compound word; 10, 5, in which the same is shown (as against Nigidius) of *avarus*; 12, 3, on *lictor*, from Valgius and Tullius Tiro; 13, 9, on *hyades*, from Tiro and a later scholar; 13, 4, on *soror* and *frater*, the first from Antistius Labeo, probably quoting Nigidius; 15, 3, on *aufugio*, suggested by a passage in Cicero; 16, 12, suggested by Cloatius Verus, on some words supposed to be taken from the Greek.

Discussions on difficult points of Latin Grammar take up upwards of thirty chapters. 2, 3; 10, 4; 19, 14 treat of the pronunciation of particular letters, *h*, *v*, and some others. 10, 4 and 19, 14 are from the *commentarii* of Nigidius. Five deal with points of prosody; 2, 17 (the quantity of *in* and *con* in composition); 4, 7, from Probus, on the quantity of the oblique cases of Hannibal and Hasdrubal; 4, 17 (*ob* and *con* before compounds of *iacio*); 7, 15 (the second syllable of *quiesco*); 9, 6 (the first syllable of *actito*). Three touch on questions of accentuation: 6, 7; 13, 26; 17, 3, §5; two on unexpected uses of the singular and plural, 2, 13; 19, 8. Seven are on case-forms: 4, 16 on the genitive in *-uis* and dative in *-u* of the fourth declension; 9, 14, on the genitive singular of the fifth declension. In the latter chapter Caesellius Vindex is mentioned; the former may be from Pliny, who is quoted as the authority for the similar though much shorter statement of Charisius, p. 143 K. 8, 1 and 10, 24, on *noctu hesterna* and *die crastini*, form part of the same statement, as may easily be seen by a comparison of Macrobius 1, 4, 16 foll., who has the same instances differently arranged. Compare also Charisius, p. 207, and Nonius, p. 98. 10, 1 discusses the question whether *tertium* or *tertio* is the right form of the adverb, and bears the names of Varro and Tullius Tiro; 20, 6 asks whether *curam vestri* or *vestrum* is right. There are two chapters on points of gender, 6, 2, on the gender of *cor*, from Terentius Scaurus, and 15, 9, on that of *frons*. With the last note we may compare Festus, p. 286, where *recto fronte* is likewise quoted from Cato. Four are on verb-inflection: 6, 9, on the forms *memordi*, *spependi*, and *cecurri*, which bears the name of Probus, from whom it very probably comes; 15, 13 and 18, 12, on verbs used both in the active and passive form; probably either from Probus or Pliny; 15, 15, on the perfect participle passive of *pando*.

<sup>1</sup> Priscian (1, p. 393 K) expressly mentions these scholars as having dealt with this subject. For a full discussion of the point I may refer to Conington's Virgil, Vol. 1 (4th edition), p. lxxi foll.

A syntactical question (*exigor portorium*) is touched upon in 15, 14.

A curious and interesting, though not a very large, section of the *Noctes Atticae* is that which deals with points of textual criticism. Two notices under this head are expressly said to be taken from Probus: 1, 15, §18, on *loquentia* and *eloquentia*, and 13, 21, on *urbes* and *urbis* in Vergil. Others are so similar to these in manner and treatment that it is natural to refer them to the same scholar. An appeal is constantly made to good manuscripts against bad; for instance, in 1, 7 to the Tironian recension of Cicero; in 1, 16, §15, and 9, 14, to good copies of Cicero; in 1, 21 and 9, 14, to an autograph copy of Vergil, or copies known to have been in his house; in 2, 14 and 10, 13 to good manuscripts of Cato; similarly to good copies in 5, 4 of Fabius Pictor, in 6, 20 of Catullus, in 9, 14; 20, 6 of Sallust, in 18, 5 of Ennius. Probus, as we know from his short memoir by Suetonius, gave an immense amount of attention to the collection of good manuscripts of classical authors. The notes just mentioned are very much what he might be supposed to have written, and are, moreover, marked, on the whole, by the same trenchant and positive style.

The remaining sections of the *Noctes Atticae* hardly admit of any logical arrangement. One set of chapters<sup>1</sup> may perhaps be noted as chronicling *mirabilia* or remarkable natural phenomena; another<sup>2</sup> consists of notes on remarkable events. A third group may, for want of a better expression, be said to contain *res memoria dignas*.<sup>3</sup> A fourth consists of anecdotes.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes the true authority is certainly given; in one case it is Sotion's *κέρας Ἀμαλθείας*, in another the *liber rerum memoria dignarum* of Verrius Flaccus; and these or similar works, such as the *παιδοπαπὴ ἱστορία* of Favorinus, may have been the sources of the whole.

The foregoing rough analysis is offered as an aid towards ascertaining the principles which underlie the apparent chaos of the *Noctes Atticae*, and the probable character and periods of the authorities from whom Gellius mostly derived his knowledge.

<sup>1</sup> 3, 6; 8, 4; 9, 4; 10, 2; 10, 12; 16, 15.

<sup>2</sup> 3, 15; 4, 5; 7, 17; 15, 10; 15, 16 (3, 15 and 15, 16 seem to come from some book on remarkable deaths; see Pliny 7, 180, where Verrius Flaccus is mentioned as having chronicled a good many).

<sup>3</sup> 1, 11; 4, 13; 5, 9; 5, 14; 6, 6; 6, 8; 9, 7; 10, 17; 12, 7; 13, 7; 15, 7; 16, 3; 16, 11; 16, 19; 17, 15; 17, 16; 17, 17; 20, 7; 20, 8.

<sup>4</sup> 1, 5; 1, 8; 3, 4; 3, 5; 3, 13; 3, 17; 5, 2; 5, 5; 6, 1; 6, 5; 8, 9; 8, 11; 9, 3; 10, 6; 10, 18; 11, 8; 11, 9-10; 12, 6; 13, 4; 15, 2; 15, 17; 15, 31.

The element of purely miscellaneous information, of information which defies rational arrangement, has turned out to be comparatively small, and to include not much more than an eighth part of the whole work. A large part of the *Noctes Atticae* is given to philosophy, including under that term logic, ethics, speculative and practical, and natural science; a fraction to rhetoric, something to literary criticism, a respectable *quota* to history and Roman antiquities, more than a quarter of the whole to lexicography and etymology, and something considerable to grammar and textual criticism. Thus the bulk of the work is taken up with the subjects which formed the main elements of a liberal education in the second century: philosophy, rhetoric, history, literature, and philology. Whether any of Gellius's authorities are older than Varro is very doubtful. We cannot fail to be struck with the fact that large as is the amount of discussion and information bearing upon philosophical questions, that devoted to lexicography, grammar, and criticism of text and style, by far outweighs it both in quantity and in value. The phenomenon is typical of the state of Italian taste and feeling. More than ever before, the attention of the Roman *litterati* is turned to questions of mere form. The genius of classical Italy is dead, and, if Renan may be believed, the distinctive character of the ancient world is passing away. Philosophy is fashionable at court and in the higher ranks of society, but its creative impulse has long been spent, and it has become mainly, if not entirely, a means of enforcing ethical principles in the relations of public and private life. A knowledge of Greek and Roman history is indeed expected, but it is to be employed partly as an instrument for the moral training of the young, partly as an accomplishment for the superficial uses of riper years. Of writing history in the great manner there seems to be no idea. Turning to rhetoric and literary criticism, we find that its masters have become pedants, with little further claim to distinction than that conferred by the hold which they have gained over their wealthy or aristocratic pupils, to whom they repeat the *dicta* of earlier masters. The Hellenic and Italian elements of literature are inextricably blended, not as in the classical period, when the study of Greek seemed only to intensify the natural characteristics of Italian genius, but in a colorless, insipid, featureless unity. Favorinus, Herodes Atticus, Marcus Aurelius prefer Greek to Latin as a channel of expression. The effort to form a new Latin style, which, beginning in the first century A. D., culminated in the prose of Seneca and Tacitus, has



exhausted itself, and only the antiquarian impulse retains any life. There is as little notion of forming a genuine literary style, as there is in the nineteenth century of inventing a new form of architecture. The question is not how to say a thing in the best way, but what Cato or Gracchus or Cicero said. To read Fronto or Gellius, one would suppose that no one had written since Horace. The age has no vigor of its own, but builds the sepulchres of the prophets, and waits for inspiration to rise from their dust. Grammar is merely a study of ancient forms, and even advocates in the courts are represented as anxious to air their antiquarian knowledge by puzzling the presiding praetor with obsolete expressions met with in the pages of forgotten authors. Such is the impression of the age in which he lived, presented by a man of cool head, sober judgment, and moral heart, but devoid of imaginative power. Had Gellius been a man of genius, he would, it may easily be supposed, have painted a more vivid and interesting, but not so sober and realistic a picture.

HENRY NETTLESHIP.

## II.—ON THE FINAL SENTENCE IN GREEK.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Schanz is moving steadily forward on the lines which are to converge, seven or eight years hence, in his Historical Syntax of the Greek Language from Homer to Aristotle. He has divided the preliminary work among the members of his Grammatical Society; and while the *Beiträge* will contain, from time to time, treatises on post-Aristotelian Greek, the main object is to work up the material for the period designated. We have already had a valuable and interesting paper by Keck, on the dual in the Greek orators, and a treatise on *πρὶν* by Sturm, which was duly reviewed in this Journal (IV 89). The other subjects announced as already in hand are the development of the consecutive sentence, history of *οὐ μὴ*, origin and development of the substantive sentence, the temporal sentences with *ἕως*,<sup>2</sup> the *figura*

<sup>1</sup> *Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache*. Herausg. v. M. Schanz. Heft 4, Band II. Heft I. Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze, von Dr. Philipp Weber. Erste Abtheilung: Von Homer bis zur Attischen Prosa. Würzburg, A. Stuber's Verlag, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> The usual treatment of *ἕως* leaves so much untouched that it has seemed worth while to present here a brief synopsis of the usage, which, it is hoped, may suggest something to Professor Schanz's workers, though the presentation is not strictly historical:

*ἕως*, Ep. *εἰως* or *εἰος* (*εἰως* rejected by Curtius, Leo Meyer, and others; *εἰος* suggested by Herm. and Buttm., defended by Leo Meyer; *ῆος* required by A. Nauck and by Curtius, who derives *ἕως* from *ῆφος* by transfer of quantity, while Delbrück derives both *ῆος* and *ἕως* from *ἔφος*; *ἕως* is an iambus only in Od. 2, 78, elsewhere it must be treated as a monosyllable, e. g. Il. 17, 727; Od. 2, 148, or as a trochee (*εἰος* or *ῆος*), Il. 1, 193; 10, 507. In the Asiatic Aeolic and Doric the form is *ἄς* (Ahrens, *Dial. Aeol.*, p. 102; *Dial. Dor.*, p. 200).

A. Relative particle of time corresponding to *τέως*, Il. 20, 42; Od. 4, 90; Ar. Pax 32; *τόσσα*, Il. 15, 390; Od. 12, 327; other correlatives: *ἐν τούτῳ*, Xen. Cyr. 6, 1, 1; *μέχρι τούτου*, Dem. 18, 48; Lys. 12, 37. It contains the notion of temporal limit expressed as to duration by "so long as, while" (Lat. *quamdū*), as to termination by "until, till"; comp. the uses of *dum*, *donec*, *quoad* (Gell. N. A. 6, 21). "'While' now means only 'during the time when,' but in Elizabethan [and dialectic] English, both while and whiles meant also 'up to the time when'" (Abbott).

I. "so long as" (Lat. *quamdū*), action co-extensive. α. imperf. indic. (1) actual occurrence in the past: οἱ δ' εἰως μὲν σῖτον ἔχον καὶ οἶνον ἐρπύρων

*etymologica* in Attic prose, the absolute participles ἐξόν, etc., use of the prepositions in the ten orators, the impersonal verbs, the development of the future idea, history of the substantivized in-

τόφρα βοῶν ἀπέχοντο, Od. 12, 327; cf. 17, 358 (in this sense often answered in apodosis by a demonstr. adv., by τέως, τείως, Od. 4, 90; by τόφρα, Od. 12, 327; Il. 18, 15; 20, 41; τόφρα δέ, Il. 10, 507; 11, 412, etc.; by δέ alone, Il. 1, 193; Od. 4, 120); Hdt. 2, 57; Aesch. Pers. 710; Soph. El. 951; Lys. 17, 3; 19, 46; Attics generally. νόνημος ἄς Οἰνόμαος ἄρχε, Pind. O. 10, 51. (2) by attraction. So in a clause dependent on an unfulfilled condition: ὑπῆρχεν ἂν αὐτοῖς—πάσχειν μηδὲν ἕως τῆς θαλάσσης ἤρχον [Xen.], R. A. 2, 14. δ. pres. subj. w. ἂν (of the future): ἕως ἂν ζῇτε, "so long as" you live, Plat. Conv. 192 E; Aesch. Ag. 1435; Ar. Thesmoph. 582; Lycurg. c. Leocr. 146; Attics generally. ε. pres. opt. as required by general rules of dependence; so after infin. and ἂν (= opt. and ἂν), Plat. Theaet. 155 A. II. "while," Lat. *dum* = ἐν ᾧ (actions not co-extensive). 1. temporal w. imperf. indic.: εἰως ὁ ταῦθ' ὠρμαινε κατὰ φρένα τόφρα δ' Ἀθήνη ἰσταμένη προσέφη Διομήδεα δῖον, Il. 10, 507, 8; cf. 11, 411, 12; 15, 539; Xen. Cyr. 6, 3, 1; ἕως ἂν, w. subj., Ib. 6, 3, 21. 2. ἕως sometimes passes over into a causal or semi-causal sense (comp. ὅτε and ὑπότε), "while, now that, since." So especially w. pres. indic.: Ἔτι is often added and forms of the copulative verb are not unfrequently omitted: οὐκ ἄλέγω, εἰως μοι ἐχέφρων Πηνελόπεια ζῶει, Od. 17, 390; Eur. Or. 238; ἕως δ' ἐτ' ἐμφρων εἰμί, Aesch. Cho. 1026; Ar. Eq. 111; Xen. Cyr. 3, 3, 46; Dem. 9, 70; ἕως ἐτι ἐλπῖς, Thuc. 8, 40. III. "until, till," Lat. *donec*. 1. as a temporal conjunction. a. with indic. chiefly aor. (1) of an actual occurrence in the past: θῦνε διὰ προμάχων εἰως φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν, Il. 11, 342; cf. Od. 5, 123 and Attics; Aesch. Pers. 428. 464; Andoc. 1, 134; Lys. 1, 15; Xen. Cyr. 6, 3, 15; 7, 1, 34; Id. Hell. 1, 1, 29; 6, 4, 36; Dem. 18, 48, etc. (2) by assimilation after indic. w. ἂν, in an unreal condition (action not accomplished): ἥδέως ἂν Καλλικλεῖ διελεγόμην ἕως ἀπέδωκα, I should gladly have gone on conversing, "till" I had . . . Plat. Gorg. 506 B; cf. Crat. 396 C; Ar. Pax 71. So after infin. and ἂν (= indic. and ἂν) [Dem.] 49, 35; after ἐχρῆν, Lys. 22, 12. For ἕως ἂν w. indic. see Lys. 15, 6 (ἂν om. by Dobree). (3) the imperf. is rare. In ἕως ἀπῆν, Xen. Cyr. 3, 3, 4, ἀπῆν may be aoristic; in ταῦτ' ἐποίει ἕως διεδίδου, Xen. Cyr. 1, 3, 8, "so long as" and "until" meet. δ. ἕως ἂν (εἰως κε) w. subj. (chiefly aor.) of the future: μαχῆσομαι . . . εἰως κε τέλος πολέμοιο κίχτειω, Il. 3, 290, 1; cf. 24, 183; Attics generally, ἕως ἂν δόξῃ, Lys. 12, 37; [Xen.] R. A. 2, 5; Isoc. 4, 165. So after historical tenses by *repraesentatio*, Xen. Hell. 5, 3, 25; Id. Cyr. 5, 1, 3. (1) omission of κε, εἰος ἵκηται, Il. 13, 141, 2. (2) omission of ἂν chiefly in tragic poetry, with or without final coloring: ἕως μάθης, Soph. Aj. 555; Trach. 148; Phil. 764; O. C. 77. The pres. subj. is not common: οὐκ ἀναμένομεν ἕως ἂν ἡ ἡμετέρα χώρα κακῶται (= ἕως ἂν ἰδωμεν κακούμενην), Xen. Cyr. 3, 3, 18. For αἰρωσι, Thuc. 1, 90, Classen reads ἄρωσι, but see Shilleto. ε. ἕως w. opt. (chiefly aor.). (1) after an historical tense corresponding to ἕως ἂν after a principal tense. Attics: ἐφασαν συνεκπλευσεῖσθαι ἕως τὰ πράγματα κατασταίη, Lys. 13, 25; cf. Ar. Ran. 766; Xen. Hell. 3, 2, 20, etc. In the Od. ἕως w. opt. has more or less finality, "against the time when, in order that," 4, 800; 5, 386; 6, 80; 19, 367. (2) by attraction (assimilation), Xen. Cyr. 1, 3, 11; Plat. Resp. 6, 501 C. The pres. opt. is not common: ἕως

finitive, the final use of τοῦ with the inf.<sup>1</sup> To the completion of this plan no one can look forward with more interest than the reviewer, and it is his purpose to report the progress made as fully and faithfully as possible. On many of these subjects formulae have been reached by long observation, which only lack the confirmation of the statistical material to pass into laws, and yet the exhaustiveness of reigning methods demands the completeness which can only be attained by actual count. Negative observations have their use. If Haupt had announced publicly his discovery that Isokrates does not use σύν, Mommsen's valuable

θερμαίνονται, Od. 9, 376 (final); ἕως δέοι, Thuc. 3, 102, cf. *b. fin. d. opt. w. κε*: ἕως κ' ἀπὸ πάντα δοθείη, Od. 2, 78 (*κε w. opt. in Homer being often substantially a future*). In Attic ἕως ἂν *w. opt.*, ἂν seems generally to be retained from the original subjunctive construction: τούτους δ' ἐπιμελείσθαι τῆς πόλεως ἕως ἂν οἱ νόμοι τεθείεν, Andoc. 1, 81; οὐκ ἂν ἀποκρίναιο ἕως ἂν σκέψαιο, Plat. Phaed. 101 D, cf. Isocr. 17, 15. *e. with fut. indic. (rare)*: περιμένετε ἕως τὸν ὄχλον διωσόμεθα (?), Xen. Cyr. 7, 5, 39; ἕως ἐπάνεισιν (= fut.), Plut. Lycurg. 29. Fut. opt.: ἕως ὅῃ . . βοηθήσوين, Xen. Hell. 4, 4, 9 (v. l. βοηθήσαιεν). *f. with inf. (after the analogy of πρίν)*, only in later authors, Dion. Hal. Ant. 9, 15. 2. with single words like ἄχρι, μέχρι, Lat. *usque*. *a. adverbs of time*: ἕως ὅτε, Lat. *usque dum* (later authors); ἕως οὐ (= ὅτε), Hdt. 2, 103; ἕως πότε, *quousque?*, "how long," N. T. (For ἕως ὅψέ Thuc. 3, 108, read ἐς ὅψέ.) With an adverb of place, Ev. Luc. 23, 5. *b. with gen.*: ἕως τοῦ λαβεῖν Polybius 5, 10, 3 and often as 1, 18. 34. 64. 60, etc., (not noticed by Krebs, Die Praepositionen bei Polybius, Würzburg, 1882), later writers. *c. with a preposition*: ἕως πρὸς καλὸν ἔφον ἀστέρα, Anth. P. 5, 201; and of place: ἕως εἰς τὸν χάρακα, Polyb. 1, 11, 4.

B. In Homer sometimes absolutely = *τέως*, "for a while, meantime," usually combined with μέν, εἰως μὲν . . ὄρνυον αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα . . Il. 12, 141; εἰως μὲν ἀπείλει . . ἀλλ' ὅτε . . Id. 13, 143; cf. 15, 277; 17, 727. 730; Od. 2, 148, etc.; "all the while," Od. 3, 126. In Hdt. 8, 74, Bekker and others write *τέως*.

<sup>1</sup> The final τοῦ with the inf. will hardly require a long treatise. The enormous range of it in non-classic, especially Biblical, Greek stands in striking contrast to the very limited use of it in Attic. Weiske (see Am. Journ. of Phil. IV 241) gives only the following examples from Plato, Xenophon, Thukydides and the Attic orators.

Without μή: Thuk. 1, 4; 8, 39, 4. Xen. Lac. resp. 8, 3; de re eq. 2, 1. Plat. Resp. 518 D; Leg. 684 A, 657 B; Gorg. 457 E. Dem. 24, 36, 133; 45, 41; 47, 63.

With μή: Thuk. 1, 23, 5; 2, 22, 1; 2, 32, 2; 2, 75, 1; 2, 75, 5; 2, 93, 4; 5, 27, 2; 5, 72, 4; 8, 14, 1. Lysias 8, 17. Xen. Cyr. 1, 3, 9; 1, 6, 40; Oec. 7, 19. (Cyr. 3, 1, 27 does not count, as Weiske observes.) Plat. Pol. 305 B; Leg. 816 E. Dem. 18, 107; 21, 76; 38, 16, 24; 54, 18, 19; 59, 57, 106, 112, 114. Lycurg. 142.

The underscored numbers represent the present tense.

work would have been hastened by several years. The observation that Homer does not use the *oratio obliqua* opt. for the indicative except in questions was made long since, but Delbrück in his *Coniunctiv u. Opt.* (p. 255) does not bring out the fact distinctly, calls an interrogative a relative, adduces a bad reading in  $\Sigma$  512, where  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omicron\iota$  is an unfortunate conjecture of Bekker's, and omits the only example in Homer that would seem to coincide with later usage  $\omega$  237:  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\omicron\iota\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\iota\tau'\ \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\ \gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon$ —a construction which might be set down as a sign of the later origin of this book. The importance of this phenomenon in the development of *oratio obliqua* is evident.

So in the matter of the final sentence, any one who has read Greek attentively ought to have noticed the rarity of  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  in Attic prose. Here again, as in the matter of  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ , Xenophon has dulled our perceptions. He uses  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  final with freedom. Thukydides has no  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  with the subj., but one  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$  with subj. (6, 91, 4), but one opt. and that with  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$  (4, 4, 2) according to Wisen.<sup>1</sup> In the standard orators  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  pure is very rare, if it exists at all. In Antiphon 4,  $\beta$ , 1; 6, 15,  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  may be classed with the Ionism  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\sigma\kappa\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (2,  $\beta$ , 7). In Plato a similar result may be expected.<sup>2</sup> The rarity of it in Attic comedy has been a matter of notoriety since Elmsley's time. And yet so elementary a matter has not found its way into the ordinary manuals.<sup>3</sup> It will be brought out doubtless with due emphasis in the second part of Dr. Weber's treatise, to the first part of which we must now address ourselves.

*Nihil est in hypotaxi quod non prius fuerit in parataxi* is the motto of recent investigators. Parataxis, which used to be thrust into the background, has come forward and claimed its rights. Oc-

<sup>1</sup> De vi et usu particulae  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  apud Thucydidem. Hauniae, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> After this review had been put in type I received from a former pupil, Mr. H. A. Short, of New York, a thesis on the development and use of  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  final, a subject to which I directed his attention some months since. I forewarned him that the result would be chiefly negative in model Attic prose, and after a careful examination of the Attic orators he has added very little to my collection. His examples under  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  w. subj. are Antiphon 4,  $\beta$ , 1 and 6, 15, Lys. 28, 14, where Markland reads  $\pi\omicron\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota$ , Dem. 18, 289 (quotation from an epigram). In Lys. 13, 20  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  belongs to  $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ . From Plato he has only the passage cited in Ast. Resp. I 349 C  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta\ \pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ :  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  with opt. occurs Andok. 1, 99. In Plat. Tim. 92 A  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\tau\omicron$  the comparative has its influence. Besides, the passage is highflown. Xenophon, as was said before, does not count.

<sup>3</sup> See Wecklein, *Curae Epigraphicae*, p. 42.



asionally, however, too much is demanded. No infinitive construction can be explained by parataxis, for the infinitive is by its very nature dependent. Some allowance must be made for crystallized formulae. So while we do not insist on supplying a special word when *ὅπως* with the future is used imperatively, yet *ὅπως* with the fut. does not stand in development on the same line with *μή* and the indicative, which is clearly paratactic.

Weber, then, or Schanz, begins with parataxis, as might be expected, and takes up Homer first.

### C. I. *The final sentence in Homer.*

Purpose may be expressed in a simple sentence: *ἀποθανεῖν θέλω* says the Sibyl in Petronius, 'ich will sterben,' says Weber. Or you can put the design in two sentences (parataxis), 'Tell me, I want to know.' This, the natural order of thought, is also the natural order of the words. So in HOMER the final sentence is usually put second. γ 7: *ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἰθὺς κίε Νέστορος ἵπποδάμοιο· εἶδομεν ἥν τινα μῆτιν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κέκευθεν.* These sentences, however, are comparatively rare survivals, and the final relation is not usually left to be indicated by the voice of the speaker. Now to make hypotaxis out of parataxis we must have a joint. That joint must be at the head of the clause that is to be made dependent. In this case the joint is *μή*, although we must be careful to note that the function of a joint is not innate, it is due to position chiefly. The mood supplies the inner union. This is the first stage.

Weber next considers the category of the sentences of fear—those sentences in which the old parataxis has fixed itself and has held its own. Without parataxis the Greek constructions of verbs of fear cannot be properly explained, the Latin constructions cannot possibly be explained. The particle *μή*, the negative of the will, is naturally enough the negative of fear. The expression of a verb of fear is a later step, as it indicates a more advanced analysis; so that the grammarians who speak of the omission of a verb of fear in certain combinations are reversing the historical process. The growth is illustrated by Σ 8: *μή δὴ μοι τελέσῃσι θεοὶ κακὰ κήδεα θυμῷ*, and ω 4, 91: *ἐξελθὼν τις ἴδοι, μή δὴ σχεδὸν ὧσι κίοντες*, and κ 538: *ἀλλ' αἰνῶς δειδοῖκα κατὰ φρένα, μή τι πάθωσιν.* The sentences are really never welded. *ἵνα* cannot be used because one does not fear to an end. *Ὅπως* is not a final particle and does not count. *Μὴ οὐ* is resistance

to a negative like *ne-non*. That it occurs only in the Iliad does not seem to be a fact of any great significance. When a verb of fear is not expressed, the emotion must be gathered from the context. The translation 'whether' for *μή* in *ὁρᾶν μή* is a mere convenience, as Weber says, though it is not to be denied that there is an interrogative element in the emotional situation. The half-interrogative, half-final character of *si* in Latin, which shows itself chiefly after verbs involving effort and so risk and apprehension, is instructive. After historical tenses of verbs of fear the opt. is the rule in Homer and the prevalent tense is the aorist. Weber gives no explanation of this. The explanation lies in the negative (*Am. Journ. of Phil.* II 466). It has already been said that parataxis holds throughout in verbs of fear, but Weber cites the famous example *ε 300: δειδωμή δὲ πάντα θεὰ νημερτέα εἶπεν* as a specimen of an insoluble unit. But the resistance to an accomplished fact can just as well be severed from the *δειδω* as the apprehension of the future in the former case. And just here it is important to emphasize the fact that the dependencies of verbs of fear are distinctly separated from the dependencies of ordinary final sentences by the elasticity of the tenses. After a verb of fear the present subjunctive may refer to future action or future ascertainment; the perfect subjunctive to future action or future ascertainment; whereas in the ordinary final sentence action and ascertainment must both fall in the future. See the examples in Liddell and Scott, 7 ed. s. v. *μή*, B 8.

The next section treats of the positive final sentence with *ὥς*. '*ὥς* means 'in this manner,' 'so,' and can only refer to a definite action. Weber illustrates by B 362: *κρῖν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεμνον, | ὥς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρίγη, φύλα δὲ φύλοις*, 'so shall brotherhood help brotherhood.' With this statement that *ὥς* is originally modal, that it has to do with manner originally rather than with an end, all scholars will agree. Dahl, in his excellent essay on *ut* (see the review in *Am. Journ. Philol.* III 229) has shown the same thing for the corresponding particle in Latin. In English we need 'so,' 'as' and 'how,' all three, for working out the Greek *ὥς*. '*ὥς*, as Weber admits, early becomes conjunctive, and this may be called the transition from 'so' to 'how.' That *ὥς* is not purely final' is practically shown by the combination with *κέν* and *ἄν*; for *ἵνα*, the purely final participle, never takes *ἄν*, as has long been known. Weber's roundabout explanation of *ὥς κεν*, *ὥς ἄν* will hardly

<sup>1</sup> Nägelsbach insists on the relative nature, *Ann. zur. II. 1, 32*. See also Kühnast, *Die Repraesentation*, s. 147.

commend itself to non-Teutonic grammarians. The formula  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu = \eta\nu \pi\omega\varsigma$  explains the situation in a word, and shows at a glance the balancing between purpose and reflexion. With  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$  you take the chances; with  $\iota\upsilon\alpha$  you disregard the chances. The translation of  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$  'that so,' though somewhat stiff and old-fashioned, is fairly exact.<sup>1</sup> This is one of the points omitted by the editors in the Liddell and Scott  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$ , and not to the advantage of the article.  $\Omega\varsigma \kappa\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$  are to be explained in the same way. They are final only as the conditional is final, a finality claimed by Lange and accorded by Monro (Homeric Gr. p. 212.)<sup>2</sup>

In the Iliad, according to Weber, the instances with  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  pure preponderate slightly (16: 15), in the Odyssey  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$  and  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \kappa\epsilon$  have a heavy preponderance over  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  (23: 9). This spread of the tentative form coincides happily with the character of the crafty Odysseus.

When we reach  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$  we are on different ground. We have now to do with a developed relative or interrogative. For  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$  final Weber has but one passage to produce from the Iliad,  $\Phi$  547, the same one adduced in the L. and S. article. There are seven in the Odyssey according to Weber's count. The transition from the modal to the final is thus established.

The next final particle in Homer is  $\delta\phi\epsilon\alpha$ , a temporal particle, which, like all temporal particles of limit, such as  $\xi\omega\varsigma$  and  $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$ , can be used with a final coloring. But the final use of  $\delta\phi\epsilon\alpha$  is so extensive that it has overshadowed its temporal use, and so Liddell and Scott make the final sense the leading sense. " $\delta\phi\epsilon\alpha$  is 'so long' and then 'till.' It is easy to see from the Latin *dum* how the final sense comes in. The English 'until' with the subjunctive often has a distinctly final sense, and in fact the subjunctive holds its own at that point better than at any other in English. 'Till' = 'in order that,' and 'before' = 'in order that not,' may help 'lest' to keep the perishing English subjunctive alive. " $\delta\phi\epsilon\alpha$  as a final particle is familiar in Homer. Weber speaks of the 'repugnance of  $\delta\phi\epsilon\alpha$  to  $\mu\eta$ .' " $\delta\phi\epsilon\alpha$  ('bis')," says Weber, after Keil, "resists a negation of the action and can only be used of the cessation of the action." It would have been more simple to say that the 'until' idea

<sup>1</sup> St. Paul's  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omega\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\eta\nu \epsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$  (Phil. 3, 11) reappears in Bishop Ken's Evening Hymn: 'Teach me to die *that so* I may | Rise glorious at the awful day.'

<sup>2</sup> So in the complementary final sentences,  $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , followed by  $\alpha\acute{\iota} \kappa\epsilon$  subj. E 279, T 70 and by  $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \pi\omega\varsigma$  opt. N 806, T 384, is followed by  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \kappa\epsilon$ ,  $\Phi$  459.

is itself negative.<sup>1</sup> In the passages where *ὅφρα μή* does occur, A 118, 578, γ 303, it seems to be purely final without any temporal shade.

Weber further notices, after Keil, the large use of *τάχιστα* with *ὅφρα*, which is easily to be explained from its temporal action. That *ὅς* with the opt. has a prevalent final use in the Odyssey is an old story. The final conjunction proper is *ἵνα*. *ὅς* and *ὅφρα* are only imperfect adumbrations of purpose; *εἰ*, as *si* in Latin, may hint at it, as we have seen above, but *ἵνα* is the only clear and distinct final particle. Weber follows Curtius in considering it an instrumental 'wherewith,' but acquiesces in the practical result that *ἵνα* is 'where' and 'whither' at the point where we begin to trace its development.<sup>2</sup> Why this local particle should have been selected to express the pure final relation rather than *ὅς* and *ὅφρα* is not brought out very satisfactorily by Weber. The simplest explanation would seem to be that the end to be reached ('whither') is a more natural expression of finality than either the manner (*ὅς*) or the limit (*ὅφρα*). At any rate *ἵνα* retired more and more from the province 'where,' and peeps out only here and there in Attic; and it is noteworthy that when it does emerge, as it does in later Greek, *ὅς* final comes back. Of negated *ὅφρα* Weber counts three instances (x 56 he refuses to count). *ὅς μή* occurs seven times; *ὅς ἀν μή* three; *ἵνα μή* sixteen times in the Iliad, ten in the Odyssey. There are consequently only 39 in all, whereas there are 108 final sentences in Homer with a simple *μή*—a striking proof of the predominance of the paratactic form in this period.

With a wise forethought Dr. Weber has given statistics of the usage in Homer from various points of view. These statements will be found useful to investigators who have other lines of research to follow, but it will be unnecessary to reproduce the whole mass here. It will suffice to give the table of the complete final sentence in Homer:

1. <i>ὅφρα</i>	237	117 Il.	120 Od.
2. <i>ἵνα</i>	145	67	78
3. <i>ὅς</i>	63	31	32
4. <i>ὅπως</i>	9	2	7
5. <i>ὅς</i>	5	0	5
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	459	217 Il.	242 Od.

<sup>1</sup> Gellert: Er wird sich nicht zur Ehe entschliessen bis er nicht eine hinlängliche Versorgung hat. Das klingt französisch, say the Grimms, but so far as a foreigner can judge it is idiomatic German, and occurs also with 'bevor' and 'ehe,' e. g. Gehe nicht eher fort bis er kommt (oder auch) nicht kommt, Sanders, Hauptschwierigkeiten der deutschen Sprache, S. 83.

<sup>2</sup> See Liddell and Scott, ed. 7, s. v.

As the Iliad contains 15,693 verses, the Odyssey 12,109, it would appear that the final sentence has extended its range in the Odyssey. The proportion in the Iliad is 1:70, in the Odyssey 1:50. The younger poem shows an advance in hypotaxis while the general use of the particles is the same. Only *ὅπως* becomes final in the Odyssey and *ἔως* undertakes to set up a final use.

We now turn to the combination of the final particles with *κέν* and *ἄν*. Weber calls these sentences final and considers the transition as effected. The table given is as follows:

	<i>Subj.</i>		<i>Opt.</i>		<i>Total.</i>	
<i>ἵνα κε</i>	o Il.	1 Od.	o Il.	1 Od.	= o Il.	1 Od. <sup>1</sup>
<i>ὅφρα κε</i>	1	6	1	0	= 2	6
<i>ὅφρ' ἄν</i>	2	3	0	1	= 2	4
<i>ὥς κε</i>	11	9	0	5	= 11	14
<i>ὥς ἄν</i>	3	6	1	3	= 4	9
					<hr/>	<hr/>
					19 Il.	34 Od.

This shows a decided advance in the use of the particles. The use with the opt. is almost wholly confined to the Odyssey.

Against the statement of Weber that the Odyssey shows a tendency to develop *ἵνα κεν* in the complete final sentence, objections might be raised. The only passage where the combination occurs is sufficiently well known. In *μ* 156 we read:

ἀλλ' ἐρέω μὲν ἐγών, ἵνα εἰδότες ἦ κε θάνωμεν  
ἦ κεν ἀλευάμενοι θάνατον καὶ κῆρα φύγοιμεν<sup>2</sup>

Here the construction has got a twist, thanks to *εἰδότες*, as if the speaker had started to say *εἰδόμεν*. Comp. *Θ* 533: εἴσομαι ἦ κέ μ' ὁ Τυδείδης κρατερὸς Διομήδης | πᾶρ νηῶν πρὸς τεῖχος ἀπώσεται, ἦ κεν ἐγὼ τὸν | χαλκῷ δηώσας ἔναρα βροτόεντα φέρωμαι.<sup>3</sup> Bäumlein accounts for the slip in substantially the same manner (*Gr. Modi*, s. 194), and Kühner follows him *II* 191, Anm. 6. Against this Weber has nothing to urge except the fact that the construction occurs in the Odyssey, and may be considered as a development, which had extended from the other final sentences to this. He is perfectly right in

<sup>1</sup> As *μ* 156 has both subj. and opt. Weber counts it only once.

<sup>2</sup> Where many read *φύγοιμεν*, which is supported by Schol. H: ἐν ἀμφοτέροις πλεονάζει ὁ κεν ἢ ἐλόμεθα τὸν θάνατον ἢ τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν παρασκευασόμεθα.

<sup>3</sup> An interposed participle readily shifts a construction. See the note on Soph. O. C. 1024: οὐ μή ποτε | χόρας φυγόντες τῆσδ' ἐπεύχονται θεοῖς. *Am. Journ. of Philol.* III 516.



saying that *κέν* and *ἄν* have no business in the purely final clause. The essence of pure purpose is disregard of limitations, but *ἵνα* is the only purely final particle, and *ὅφρα κε*, *ὅφρ' ἄν*, *ὥς κε*, *ὥς ἄν* have relative, temporal, conditional coloring. To show in detail the truth of this statement would require more space than can be spared. Suffice it to say that these *ἄν* and *κέν* groups show very distinctly the transition to the final, which, according to Weber, they actually reach, which they certainly approach very closely. Noteworthy would seem to be the large use of the imperative or equivalents in the preceding clause, so that we have an expression of the will followed by a study of the conditions consequent upon the putting forth of the action postulated.<sup>1</sup> Weber now asks the question why *κέν* and *ἄν* are excluded from the pure final sentence, and this leads to a discussion of the character of *κέν* and *ἄν* which results in the acceptance of Lange's view, a parallelism of *εἰς* and *ἄν*, of *τις* and *κέν*. The whole subject having been recently discussed in this Journal may be passed over (III 446 foll.) The simple solution seems to be that the conditioning of a purpose destroys its absolute voluntative power. The will is 'sicklied o'er' by reflexion. "*ἵνα* with the subj. is Lady Macbeth, *ὥς ἄν* is her husband.

Weber next considers the sequence of tenses in Homeric final sentences. As a rule principal tenses are followed by the subjunctive, historical by the optative. Exceptions in which the opt. follows principal tenses are rare, and most of them disappear upon close inspection. It would seem ridiculous even to adduce ρ 242 and φ 201 where *ὥς ἔλθοι* is an independent wish and not a final sentence; but even recent editors have punctuated badly. Σ 88, Η 339 *εἴη* may readily be changed into *ῆη*. Α 344 *μαχέονται* is an un-Homeric form, as Homer does not use the opt. in *-οιντο*, only that in *-οιατο* (Curtius, Gr. Verb, I 94). The hiatus is a hateful one, *μαχέονται* 'Αχαιοί, Hoffmann's *μαχεοίαι* 'Αχαιοί is bad, and we must read *μαχέονται*, which some blundering scribe put into a supposed fut. opt. *μαχέοιντο*. For *ἄλφοι*, ρ 249, Nauck reads *ἄλφη*.

The cases where *ὥς κεν* and *ὥς ἄν* occur with the optative present no difficulty whatever. Indeed it is hardly necessary to resort, as Weber does, to the independent sentence. It is nothing more than the familiar potential construction, in which adaptation runs into finality, as in Η 342: *ἔκτοσθεν δὲ βαθείαν ὀρύξομεν ἐγγύθι τάφρον, |*

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Α 32: *ἀλλ' ἰθι, μή μ' ἐρέθιζε, σωτέρος ὥς κε νέηαι.*

ἢ χ' ἵππους καὶ λαὸν ἐρυκάκοι ἀμφὶς εἴουσα. The opt. by attraction (so called) is found chiefly in the Odyssey, σ 368, ξ 407, υ 79 (after wishes). The subj. after a wish occurs σ 202 (π 99 is interpolated). In Ω 74, δ 735 the opt. is equivalent to the imperative. After the opt. with κέν or ἄν the sequence is the subjunctive, and this is in point of fact the more common sequence throughout the language. The opt. with ἄν is felt as a modality of the future indicative, which itself is modal in its origin.

The sequence so common in prose of subjunctive after historical tenses is not relatively common in Homer. Weber gives 32 examples, divided thus: ὅφρα, 14; ἵνα, 10; ὥς, 1; ὥς ἄν, 2; ὅφρα κε, 1; ὅφρ' ἄν, 2; μή, 2. If we include the μή sentences, the proportion of regular sequence to irregular is as 12:1, according to the count. This is a very different showing from what we should find in Attic prose, though Attic authors differ very much in their use of *repraesentatio*. The sentences of fear are more regular in Homer than the final sentences proper, which Weber accounts for by the necessity of a closer modal union to make up for the lack of a special particle such as the final sentence enjoys. The conclusion which Weber draws from the regularity of sequence in Homer is the close correlation of the optative with the past tense. After the past tenses, it is true, the subjunctive may be used, but the opt. is practically excluded from the sequence of the principal tenses. In whatever direction we turn, then, we are confronted by this difficult question of the relation of subjunctive to optative.<sup>1</sup>

What is the subjunctive? It is the mood of the will. In this nearly all grammarians are agreed. Krüger said long ago: Der Conjunctiv bezeichnet *geheischte Wirklichkeit* (§54, 2). In standard prose the definition holds absolutely. All the categories of the pure subjunctive may be reduced to the imperative.<sup>2</sup> It is true that in earlier times the subjunctive showed signs of passing into a colorless future, as *will* in English has passed into a colorless

<sup>1</sup> See American Journal of Philology, III 437.

<sup>2</sup> This is true even in details. So in the final sentence, where the difference between present and aorist with the negative is neatly brought out in a saying attributed to Herodes Atticus by Philostratos, Vit. Soph. Lib. 1, c. 1: ἔλεγε γὰρ δὴ, ὥς προσήκοι τὸν ὀρθῶς πλούτῳ χρώμενον τοῖς μὲν δεομένοις ἐπαρκεῖν ἵνα μὴ δέωνται (cease to be in want), τοῖς δὲ μὴ δεομένοις ἵνα μὴ δεηθῶσιν (come to want). Of course this is only one side of the difference, but it is an important one. The general formula is the same as that of the imperative (see my Justin Martyr, Apol. I, 1. 5, 48), to which class the final sentences ultimately belong.

future except where the first person keeps up the hue; but when *ἄν* became associated with the subj. as a formula for a more exact future, the pure subjunctive was more and more restricted to its original function. These reactions of language, these conservative checks, are well worth noticing.<sup>1</sup> With this definition of the subjunctive Weber is in accord. 'The fundamental notion of the subjunctive is will.' But he goes a step further. 'Will is a desire, with the prospect of attainment: hence there is inherent in it a tendency to reality.' Here we are on dangerous ground. It is true that the subjunctive has chiefly to do with practical matters, but so has the imperative, and yet *βαῖλ' ἐς κόρακας* is not a practical command, and certainly may be uttered without reference to any prospect of realization.<sup>2</sup>

When the design is related as something past, the dependency sympathizes with the transfer. In Latin the tense shifts. In Greek no such shifting of the tense has been developed, but language fulfils its ends in many ways, not always in the most direct and simple. The conquest of an *oratio obliqua* inf. from the verbal substantive inf.—a process which Weber adduces—is a sample of what language does when it must.<sup>3</sup> So here the Greek language instead of making a new form shifts its mood. The mood of the will gives way to the mood of the wish, or, if you choose, the mood of demand to the mood of the dream.<sup>4</sup> But Weber seems to be wrong in calling this the substitution of a weaker form for the stronger, a more vivid for a less vivid. Such phrases do

<sup>1</sup> See Amer. Journ. of Philol. III 447 note.

<sup>2</sup> 'It is very true that the anticipatory conditional has to do with practical matters chiefly; but so has the parallel imperative; and yet the imperative is not bound by probability or practicability; and when Menelaus says to Orestes (Eur. Or. 1593): *ἀλλ' οὐ τι χαίρων, ἦν γε μὴ φύγῃς πτεροῖς*, there is a sheer contradiction of the course of nature. So Eur. Phoen. 121, 6: *ἦν μὴ γε φύγων ἐκφύγῃς πρὸς αἰθέρα*.' Transactions of Amer. Philol. Assn. 1876, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> 'The *oratio obliqua* construction, in which the infinitive no longer represents the stage of the action, the kind of time, but the relation of the action to the present, the sphere of time, seems to have arisen gradually from the other class—the verbs of creation—the verbs of will and endeavor. The connecting link remains, and consists of the verbs of swearing and witnessing, hoping and promising, verbs in which the will is the deed. Two indications of this survive in the normal language. The negative of the infinitive after these verbs is with reasonable regularity *μὴ*, and the tenses follow largely the older scheme—so that the aorist is used for the future—especially with verbs of promising in which ambiguity is impossible.' Trans. Amer. Philol. Assn. 1878, p. 5.

Amer. Journ. of Philol. III 437.

not help us forward. It is well known that Lucian often uses  $\omega\varsigma$  with the opt. after principal sentences. (See Heller, *Symbolae Ioachimicae*, Berl. 1880, 282-329.) The conclusion reached by some Lucianic scholar (whether Heller or another, I cannot recall) is that  $\omega\varsigma$  with the opt. representing, as it does, the actual conception of the wish, is more 'vivid' than the normal subjunctive. A word that can be turned round so completely is hardly fit for grammatical use. The more cautious way of stating the phenomenon would be that in the transfer to the past the will may lose its practical basis and so be assimilated to the wish. Lange, as is well known,<sup>1</sup> calls the opt. the mood of the imagination, and sees in the use of the opt. after the past tenses not a makeshift, as Weber does, after Delbrück, but a  $\psi\upsilon\chi\iota\kappa\eta\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ . Against this Weber urges the fact that the optative is not used after the principal tenses. If the difference is that of a  $\psi\upsilon\chi\iota\kappa\eta\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , why should not the principal tenses have a right to the shift also? But the question to be asked is rather this: Is the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\iota\kappa\eta\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , which would take the optative after principal tenses, natural? Would it be likely to occur? If the notion is that of wish rather than of will or purpose, should we not expect to find an independent expression of wish rather than a formulated final sentence? Nor can we altogether overlook the historical endings of the optative. Almost every one now recognizes the fact that  $-\mu$  of the opt. is a false formation, and the secondary endings must be taken into account in getting at the original meaning of the optative. That the Greek did not develop secondary tenses for the subjunctive nor principal tenses for the optative is of prime significance, though it by no means commits us to Kühner's view of the relation of the moods. Optative for subjunctive then is not a mere makeshift; and Weber, while following Delbrück, uses language which is a curious specimen of grammatical hedging. 'Für uns ist Optativ ein zwar nicht ohne Berechtigung, aber doch immerhin willkürliches gewähltes Ersatzmittel für den Coniunctiv der historischen Zeiten.' Grant the justification and everything is granted. Language does not need anything more. Language is satisfied with a hint.

The subjunctive as the mood of the will is entitled to follow the historical tenses. In standard prose the use of opt. or subj. depends to a considerable extent on the individuality of the author. The

<sup>1</sup> *Ei mit dem opt.* p. 394 (88). See *Amer. Journ. of Philol.* III 437.

author that puts himself with more directness into relation with the time of which he is writing will incline to the subjunctive (*repraesentatio*). The more mechanical writer will be more apt to follow the established sequence. Other exceptions are due to the interference of the actual present of the writer. Here and there we have an aorist that does service regularly as the shorthand of the perfect, the perfect being either non-existent or appropriated to present use. This last proposition is denied by Weber after Novotny, but we must recognize the fact syntactically that the aorist has often to serve as a substitute for the perfect. There were not perfects enough in Greek, and hence in later times perfects were manufactured to meet the demand for a wooden uniformity.<sup>1</sup>

The explanation for Homer is fundamentally the same, although we may use other terms. In Homer, says Weber, we have the survival of the original parataxis. This is just what *repraesentatio* is for the later period. In either case we are transported to the original conception.

The future indicative came into the final sentence through the relative. It came in through the temporal, says Weber, in the case of ὅφρα. It would be better to say through the relative element of ὅφρα, for the fut. rebels against the combination with the temporal particle except so far as the temporal particle is relative. For final ὅφρα with fut., Weber cites ρ 6 and δ 162. The development of final ὅπως has been traced in the article in L. and S. μή with the fut. occurs twice in the formula μή πῶς τοι Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται (ν 300, ω 543), which Weber considers an isolated effort to bring the future into dependence on μή.

In negative sentences with μή the aor. subj. after principal tenses, the aorist opt. after secondary tenses, preponderate greatly, as compared with the present subj. and the present opt. This was only what was to be expected. The natural tense of the negative is the aorist.<sup>2</sup> But we find that the aor. subj. preponderates in

<sup>1</sup> When the perfect is used as a present, the aorist is used as a perfect. So ἐκτησάμην, 'I have gained possession of,' κέκτημαι, 'I possess,' as in the classic example Herodot. 7, 29: κέκτησο αὐτὸς τάπερ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσαο. In Isokr. 5, 19-21 we find a string of perfects, and at the end of them a solitary κατέστησεν. Why? Καθίστημι has no transitive perfect. So in Lysias 12, 3, κατέστην is followed by μὴ ποιήσωμαι. To call this explanation a 'Nothbehelf,' as Weber does, is absurd. It is merely a recognition of a breakdown in the apparatus of language. The 'Nothbehelf' is not in the grammarian, it is in the Greek. For Homer, see the examples in La Roche, N 624.

<sup>2</sup> See American Journal of Philology, III 466.



positive final sentences. As it is true that in the final sentence we more commonly look forward to the attainment of a result than to the continuance of a condition to be reached, this phenomenon is not inexplicable. More puzzling is the fact that in the opt., after past tenses with final particles, the pres. and the aor. nearly balance. Weber suggests that the transfer to the past has dulled the sense for the difference between present and aorist; but in that case we should rather expect the aor., which is the more common tense in the untransferred final sentence, the more common tense in the opt. of wish, and for the same reason. Mere counting will not answer here. The forms must be weighed. *Εἴη* may be changed into *ῆη*. If *πέλοιτο* is a present opt., where is its aorist? Such a question must be attacked in all its details. So in the development of the articular infinitive it is of some moment to watch the kind of words that first submit to the combination.

In the next section Weber takes up what he calls the incomplete final sentences, by which he means those final sentences in which there is no expression of work to an end, where the translation is 'that,' not 'in order that.' They are sometimes called complementary final sentences, and follow verbs of will and endeavor. In Greek, verbs of will seldom take this construction. The particles are *ὥς* and *ὅπως*. The whole build of the sentences clearly shows the relative rather than the final nature, and it is not necessary to subject the examples given to a special scrutiny here. See Liddell and Scott, s. v. *ὅπως*, where, however, verbs of ways and means are separated from verbs of will and endeavor, because in verbs denoting contrivance (verbs of ways and means) the relative and interrogative elements come out much more clearly.

This completes the exhibition of the final sentence in Homer. As the theoretical discussion turns chiefly on the usage in Homer, the final sentences elsewhere can be dispatched more rapidly.

### C. II. *Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns.*

In HESIOD there are 36 final sentences, according to Weber. Hesiod has one final sentence to 64 verses, so that he stands half way between Iliad (1:72) and Odyssey (1:50). *Ἴνα* (11) gains heavily on *ὅφρα* (10). In Homer *ἵνα* had only 145 against the 237 of *ὅφρα*. Parataxis in the *μή* sentences preponderates in Hesiod. The principal tenses are followed by the subj. pres. (18) and aor. (8), whereas in Homer the aor. preponderates over the present, a

point of difference that Weber does not notice. Here again counting will not suffice. The historical tenses are followed by opt. pres. (5) and aor. (3), and by subj. twice. The opt. after principal tenses occurs twice, both the examples (O. et D. 606, 576) have  $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\eta$ , where Weber would read  $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\eta$  or  $\tilde{\eta}\eta$ . The complementary final sentence is represented by three examples, two with  $\kappa\epsilon$  (O. et D. 306, 308), one with  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  (O. et D. 349).

In the Homeric Hymns  $\delta\phi\rho\alpha$  is used 5 times,  $\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha$  5,  $\delta\phi\rho\alpha \kappa\epsilon$  once,  $\tilde{\omega}\varsigma \kappa\epsilon$  once. In what Weber calls complete final sentences (final sentences proper),  $\delta\phi\rho\alpha \kappa\epsilon \mu\acute{\eta}$  with the opt. is a curiosity (in Cerer. 131), which is to be explained by the relative nature of  $\delta\phi\rho\alpha$ . In the Batrachomyomachia the only final particle is  $\tilde{\sigma}\pi\omega\varsigma$ , which occurs 64, 151, 249, an additional proof, if proof were needed, of the later origin of the poem. The only important points to be noted in the comparison of Hesiod and the Hymns with Homer is the absence of  $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  final, of  $\tilde{\sigma}\pi\omega\varsigma$ , the fut. indicative final, and the decline of  $\delta\phi\rho\alpha$ .

### C. III. Lyric Poets.

PINDAR has no  $\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha$ , a fact sufficiently emphasized by Erdmann and others. Pindar's favorite particle is  $\delta\phi\rho\alpha$ , which had the high antique tone suited to his soaring style. Weber counts only twenty 'complete' final sentences in Pindar, a small number, he remarks. The small number is due to the free use that Pindar makes of the final infinitive.

The final particles are distributed thus:  $\delta\phi\rho\alpha$  11,  $\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$  3,  $\tilde{\omega}\varsigma \tilde{\alpha}\nu$  1,  $\tilde{\sigma}\pi\omega\varsigma$  1,  $\mu\acute{\eta}$  4. \* $\tilde{\sigma}\pi\omega\varsigma$  occurs N 3, 58:  $\delta\phi\rho\alpha \dots \tilde{\epsilon}\nu \phi\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota} \pi\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\iota\theta' \tilde{\sigma}\pi\omega\varsigma \sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota \mu\acute{\eta} \kappa\acute{o}\iota\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma \tilde{\omicron}\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega \dots \tilde{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\mu\nu\omega\nu \mu\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\iota$ . Bergk would have us read  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\iota \theta\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ , which Weber approves, evidently for the pleasure of wiping  $\tilde{\sigma}\pi\omega\varsigma$  out of the Pindaric final particles. It is hard to see why  $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu \phi\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota} \pi\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\iota\tau\omicron$  should not be construed like  $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\tau\omicron$ . As for  $\tilde{\omega}\varsigma \tilde{\alpha}\nu$ , that (O 7, 42) follows  $\phi\nu\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , and might also be put down among the complementary final sentences, though the opt. with  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  might be regarded there as an imperative, as the opt. with  $\kappa\epsilon$  is an imperative in the famous Elean inscription (Boeckh, CIG 11, Cauer<sup>2</sup> 258).

If there is no reason to change the solitary  $\tilde{\omega}\varsigma \tilde{\alpha}\nu$ , there is no reason to change the solitary  $\tilde{\sigma}\pi\omega\varsigma$ . \* $\delta\phi\rho\alpha \mu\acute{\eta}$  is used only once P 5, 62,  $\tilde{\omega}\varsigma \mu\acute{\eta}$  N 8, 36.

Principal tenses are followed by the subjunctive, pres. (3) and aor. (3). Historical tenses by the opt. pres. (2) and aor. (6). The sequence of the subj. after historical tenses is perfectly explicable

in P 4, 90, where the purpose holds for all time, and in O 4, 13, where *κατέβαν* is one of the aor. to which reference was made above.

Attraction of mood, opt. after opt. of wish, occurs N 8, 35 and P 5, 118.

The fut. indic. does not occur, for, like the reviewer, Weber considers *βάσσομεν* (O 6, 24) a subjunctive.<sup>1</sup> The only complementary final sentence, and that with *ῥφρα*, occurs P 1, 71.

The statistic of the lyric poets generally does not seem to be of any great value, on account of the fragmentary character of their remains, and on account of the extensive interpolations. To be sure, Weber rejects Pseudophokylides, but will he venture to maintain the genuineness of everything that goes under the name of Theognis? It is certainly dangerous to speak of historical development here. Pindar is clearly an eclectic, as Weber has admitted in the case of *ῥφρα*, and we need a wider basis of induction before we can distinguish what is individual taste, what is historical growth.

*ῥφρα* occurs in six passages, *ἴνα* in three, *ὥς* in four, *ὥς ἄν* in two, *ὅπως* (*ὅκως*) in two. *Ὡς* and *ὅπως* occur chiefly in Hipponax and Anakreon. Of this Weber ventures no explanation. The explanation may be local.

In Simonides (103, 3) *μή* is separated from *ἴνα*. The paratactic *μή* holds its own. We have attraction of mood in Theognis 885, 1119. There are two complementary final sentences (both with verbs of ways and means). In Solon (13, 37) for the first time the final sentence precedes, Hymn. in Ven. (4), 126 being set down as interpolated. The position, however, is rendered easier by a following *τοῦτο*:

*ὥς ὑγιὲς ἔσται, τοῦτο κατεφράσατο.*

The conclusion of the whole matter is that there is no marked deviation from Homer in the whole period which we may call pre-Attic. The characteristics of the pre-Attic period are thus summed up: (1) The final conjunction *ῥφρα* dominates; (2) Absence of *ὅπως ἄν*; (3) Preponderance of paratactic *μή*; (4) Isolated use of the future; (5) No indic. preterite after unreal conditions and the like; (6) No independent *ὅπως* (*ὅπως* fut. indic. without leading verb); (7) The final sentence is always subsecutive.

At the close of this period we part forever with *ῥφρα*.

<sup>1</sup> See American Journal of Philology, III 441.

C. IV. *The Dramatic Poets.*

A new period opens with AISCXYLOS. Paratactic μή, as Weber calls it, occurs seven times. The aor. subj. is used throughout after principal tenses, counting as such πράξαιμ' ἄν (not πράξαίμ', as Weber says), except in Ag. 1624: πρὸς κέντρα μή λάκτιζε μή πταίσας μογῆς, where, as has been explained above, the participle accounts for the twist. Evidently μή with the aor. subj. has become an imperative formula.

There are four verbs of fear followed by the aor. subj. Φόβῳ with μή takes the subj. followed by fut. ind. in Pers. 117: μή πόλις πύθεται . . . καὶ τὸ Κισσίων πόλισμ' ἀντίδουπον ἄσεται . . . βυσσίνους δ' ἐν πέπλοις πέσῃ λακίς. This is the first time that a verb of fear takes μή with the future. That Aischylos does not use μή οὐ with the subj. seems to be an accident; he uses it freely enough with the infinitive, which is an incorporated μή οὐ with subjunctive. Instructive is the fact, not adduced by Weber, that he does not use οὐ μή with anything but the aorist, showing the same habit here as with μή. The absence of the opt. after verbs of fear is not unrelated to Aischylos' avoidance of the opt. elsewhere. He does not use it after ἴωσ nor after πρίν.

To the incomplete final sentences Weber assigns Pr. 334 (πάπταινε), 390 (φυλάσσουν), Eum. 255 (λεῦσσε), all verbs at least involving apprehension.

The table of the complete final sentence is as follows:

	ἵνα	ὅπως	ὅπως ἂν	ὥς ἂν	ὥς	
Prom.	1	2	1	3	5	12
Sept.	1	1			3	5
Pers.		1			1	2
Suppl.		1	1	3	3	8
Agam.		1	1	1	1	4
Choeph.		3	1		5	9
Eum.		2	2	4	5	13
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	2	11	6	11	23	53

Μή is used with a final particle ten times, without a final particle seven times, as we have seen. Subordination has outstripped co-ordination, and μή is sometimes separated from the final particle. The development is μή, ὅπως μή, ὅπως—μή. Ὅφρα has disappeared as a final particle, but it is almost comic to say that ἵνα was nigh unto destruction, because there are only two instances in Aischylos. So

far from considering this 'the more remarkable because Aischylos uses *ἵνα* in a local sense five times,' it would seem natural to suppose that the local use checked the final use. *Ὅπως ἄν* appears for the first time as a final combination, but as *ὅπως κε* had been used in Homer, it is not surprising that Aischylos should have used *ὅπως ἄν, κέν* being excluded from his dialect. The ratio of the pure to the impure (*ἄν* or *κέν*) final sentence is as follows: Homer 7 : 1; Hesiod 8 : 1; Hymns 4 : 1; Pindar 15 : 1; Aischylos 2 : 1; Lyrics 7 : 1. These figures show, says Weber, a great advance of the impure final conjunction in Aischylos. But what do the figures prove for Pindar? A rebellion against Homer? Over-interpretation of statistics may bring the whole matter, useful as it is, into ridicule, and we must not undertake to prove that the Persae and the Septem are the oldest plays of Aischylos by the non-occurrence of *ὥς ἄν* and *ὅπως ἄν*.

The so-called attraction of the final dependency into the indicative of the unreal occurs for the first time in Aischylos, twice with *ὅπως* (Pr. 747, Cho. 195), once with *ὥς* (Pr. 1152). The examples are familiar. The true explanation is that the dependent clause is really the main clause. The wish for the means is really a wish for the end. The variation of construction from ind. to opt., which we find elsewhere, is due to this shift.<sup>1</sup> But this matter will come up under the final sentence in Attic prose. Suffice it to say here that this attraction is rooted in the language. If there is not an unreal *ὅπως* in Homer, there is an unreal *πρίν* (δ 177).<sup>2</sup>

As to the moods we have the following results :

		<i>ἵνα</i>	<i>ὥς</i>	<i>ὅπως</i>
After Principal tenses.	Subj. pres.		8	1
	aor.	1	9	1
After Secondary tenses.	Subj. aor.		1	
	Opt. pres.	1	2	
	aor.		1	1
	pres. and aor.			1

<sup>1</sup> In Plato, Meno 89 A, the change from *διέφθειρεν* to *γίγνονται* is due to the intercalated generic clause with *ἀφίκοιντο*.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδέ κεν ἡμέας  
 ἄλλο διέκρινεν φιλέοντέ τε τερπομένω τε  
 πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος ἀμφεκάλυψεν.



As a novelty, Weber cites the occurrence of an opt. with *ὅπως* after an historical present. When one reflects that the historical present is excluded from the epic, the novelty loses its great importance. Under the incomplete final sentence we find *ὅπως* with the fut., Ag. 847, Suppl. 410; *ὥς* with opt., Pr. 203; and *ὅπως* with the fut. indicative in the imperative sense, so familiar in Attic Greek. There is no definite ellipsis. For examples, see L. and S., 7 ed., s. v. *ὅπως*.<sup>1</sup>

Paratactic *μή* occurs 20 times in SOPHOKLES. The 18 subjunctives (2 pres., 15 aor., one alternating) follow principal, the two aor. opt. secondary tenses. The final sentence is found with an interrogative, Ai. 77: *τί μή γένηται*; El. 1276: *τί μή ποιήσω*; in sentences of fear (19 passages) we have *μή* (16), *ὅπως μή* (1), *ὥς* (2). There is no *μή οὐ*. The sequence of *μή* is the regular prose sequence.

Two passages, however, give trouble:

Ai. 278: *ξύμφημι δὴ σοι καὶ δέδοικα μή 'κ θεοῦ  
πληγὴ τις ἦκοι* (so La.; the choice lies between *ἦκει*  
and *ἦκη*).

Trach. 550: *ταῦτ' οὖν φοβοῦμαι μή πόσις μὲν Ἡρακλῆς  
ἐμοὶ καλεῖται* (so La., others *καλῆται*), *τῆς νεωτέρας δ'  
ἀνίρ*.

Elmsley writes *ἦκει* because the blow has already fallen, but, as has been said before, the pres. subj. of ascertainment may be used (after a verb of fear) as well as action. Weber takes *καλεῖται* as a future, with Hermann.

*Μή* with opt. and *ἄν* after a verb of fear is a Sophoklean extension (Trach. 630), and though it really gives very little trouble, it may be worth remarking that the use of the opt. and *ἄν* with *μή* is not satisfactorily stated in the text-books, as, for instance, the difference between *πῶς οὐκ ἄν εἶη*, and *πῶς μή ἄν εἶη*.<sup>2</sup> Sophokles further uses *ὥς* with the fut. after a verb of fear in which *ὥς* introduces an object sentence, just as we use familiarly 'that' instead of 'lest.' In both instances, El. 1309, 1426, a negative sentence precedes.

Of the twelve examples of the incomplete final sentence in Sophokles, three, El. 580: *ὄρα μή τιθῆς*, 584 *εἰσόρα μή τιθῆς*, Phil. 30:

<sup>1</sup> Original form of that article: 'The consciousness of any original ellipsis is often effaced with the second person, as is shown by the close combination with the imperative, where there is no breathing space (*ἐμβα χάπως ἀρεῖς*, Ar. Ran. 377).'

<sup>2</sup> E. g. Plato Gorg. 510 D; Legg. 10, 887 C.

ὄρα μὴ κυρῇ, the question may fairly be asked whether we are to read τίθης or τιθῆς, κυρῇ or κυρεῖ.

The following table shows Sophokles' use of the final particles in the complete final sentence:

	ἵνα	ὅπως	ὅπως ἄν	ὥς αν	ὥς	
O. R.	3	2			6	11
O. C.	5	3	1	1	11	21
Ant.	2	3			4	9
Ai.		4		1	10	15
El.		11	1	1	7	20
Trach.	1	5			7	13
Philokt.	3	3		2	7	15
	14	31	2	5	52	104

In Sophokles *ὥς* dominates except in the *Electra*, where *ὅπως* leads, *ἵνα* comes more to the front. The impure final sentences retreat. It does not seem possible to get any characteristic out of these facts, which are facts and nothing more.

Unreal *ἵνα* occurs O. R. 1387, unreal *ὅπως* El. 1131, unreal *ὥς* O. R. 1391. The future is seldom used in the final sentence proper (O. C. 1724).

The impure final sentences occur only after principal tenses, and take the subjunctive alone. Look upon *ὥς ἄν* and *ὅπως ἄν* as a manner of *ἦν πως*, and the fact will not be surprising. Not to reproduce all of Weber's figures, it is only necessary to say that the sequence in Sophokles is fairly normal. The opt. is followed by the subj. (Trach. 1109), instead of the opt. This would seem to indicate that the opt. here is imperative in its character.

A curious phrase is first found in Sophokles, *δεῖ σ' ὅπως πατρός δείξεις ἐν ἐχθροῖς*, Ai. 556, cf. Phil. 54. The explanation given by Weber is that of a doubly urgent demand, *δεῖ σε*, 'thou must,' *ὅπως δείξεις*, 'be sure to show,' *ὅπως* being only apparently dependent on *δεῖ*, so that we should have a blending of two constructions, *δεῖ σε δείξαι*, and *ὅπως δείξεις*. This once favorite mode of explanation is not so much resorted to now. The simple principle would seem to be that such confusions should not be allowed within narrow compass unless there is evident excitement. When the tone is passionate we may expect a want of sequence in the utterance, and the main objection to this explanation here is that the tone is too quiet, both in the passages cited and in Kratinos (2, p. 82, Mein.), the only three instances in the language.

The imperative *ῥπως* with the future, so common, as we shall see, in Aristophanes, occurs but once in Sophokles (O. R. 1518).<sup>1</sup>

Paratactic *μή*, according to Weber, occurs 49 times in EURIPIDES.<sup>1</sup> The aor. subj. largely preponderates. Noteworthy is Phoen. 92, where the ind. is followed by the subj., apprehension of a present state by apprehension of a future result.

The verbs of fear widen their sphere in Euripides. A hint is sometimes enough to bring about the equivalence. So Ion 685, Andr. 142, El. 902. Sometimes there is no dependence, *e. g.* Tro. 982: *μή οὐ πείσης σοφούς*. In Hipp. 518: *δέδοιχ' ῥπως μοι μή λίαν φανῆς σοφῇ*, and I. T. 995: *τὴν θεὸν ῥπως λάθω δέδοικα καὶ τύραννον, the εἴ πως* element of *ῥπως*, mentioned above, explains the extension. Euripides makes use of *μή οὐ*, Aischylos and Sophokles did not, but it is impossible to see any significance in this, or in the *τί μή γένηται* which Euripides indulges in as well as Sophokles. The predominance of the aor. tenses here also is perfectly natural. The larger numbers in Euripides, however, make it worth noting that there is not the same disproportion between aor. subj. and aor. opt. as was emphasized in Homer.

The 'incomplete' or complementary final sentence (after *ῥρα* and the like) shows indicatives in three passages, (imperf.) Hel. 119, (pres. perf.) Or. 208, (pres.) Ion. 1523.

The table of the occurrences of the final particles of all the plays shows that in Euripides, as in Aischylos and Sophokles, *ὡς* leads. This is also true of the single plays, with the exception of the Herakleidai, in which *ῥπως* predominates; but the number of final sentences in that play is only four, and arguing on so narrow a basis would be unreasonable, as Weber himself admits.

	<i>Aischylos.</i>	<i>Sophokles.</i>	<i>Euripides.</i>
<i>ὡς</i>	34	57	210
<i>ῥπως</i>	17	33	26
<i>ἵνα</i>	2	14	71

The advance in *ἵνα* might be set down to Euripides' nearer approach to prose; but that would not account for the neglect of *ῥπως*, which is also prosaic; so that we have not an organic fact here such as was recognized elsewhere in the use of *εἰ* with fut. ind. and of the articular infinitive. The bulk of Euripides, taking in the Rhesus, is two and a half times as great as that of Sophokles. If the usage

<sup>1</sup> Rhesus is excluded.

of Sophokles were identical with that of Euripides, we should have for the same bulk approximately  $\omega s$  142,  $\delta\pi\omega s$  83,  $\iota\nu a$  35, which brings out the discrepancy very clearly.

The impure final sentence  $\omega s \acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\delta\pi\omega s \acute{\alpha}\nu$  gains in Euripides. It stands to the pure final sentence as 34 : 272, as 1 : 8. In Sophokles it is as 1 : 14, in Aischylos as 1 : 2. What conclusion is to be drawn from this retrogression does not appear.

The negatived final particles,  $\iota\nu a \mu\eta$ ,  $\omega s \mu\eta$ , and so on, are not quite so common as what we have been calling paratactic  $\mu\eta$  (40 : 49), but paratactic  $\mu\eta$  has fallen back as compared with Sophokles;  $\iota\nu a \tau\acute{\iota}$  comes in with Aristophanes;  $\omega s \tau\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\omega s \tau\acute{\iota} \delta\eta$  with Euripides.

From an examination of the sequence of moods and tenses in Euripides, Weber draws the important conclusion that Euripides differs from Aischylos, Sophokles, and Aristophanes in the use of the subjunctive after the past tense, even when the design is recognized as past.

According to Weber, Euripides is not satisfied with the ordinary categories: (1) Gnostic aor., practically a principal tense; (2) Retention of *oratio recta*; (3) The action still prospective. But the second category can be stretched to hold all the uses of Euripides, and it is going too far to say that in tragedy the approach to the point of view of Herodotos is due to Euripides. It must be remembered that the subjunctive is the original final and in later Greek survived the opt., which, in this class of sentences, is due to a certain adaptation. The last to come is the first to perish, as often.

The subj. after the pure opt. of wish in Euripides is assured by the metre in Suppl. 620, where it is in a nest of opt. and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , the regular sequence of which is the subj.

The opt. after principal tenses disappears on inspection, and the impure final sentence with  $\omega s \acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\delta\pi\omega s \acute{\alpha}\nu$  always has the subj., always follows a principal tense.

The unreal sequence occurs seven times, five times with  $\iota\nu a$ , twice with  $\omega s$ .

The imperative  $\delta\pi\omega s$  with fut. indic. occurs six times in Euripides.

ARISTOPHANES has no  $\mu\eta \sigma\upsilon$  after a verb of fear, but the independent sentence of fear, or rather apprehension, is found with  $\mu\eta \sigma\upsilon$ , Eccl. 794, where Heindorf reads  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta s$  and Blaydes makes half a dozen suggestions.

In Aristophanes,  $\iota\nu a$  shoots up to even more than its prose height. 183 out of 243 complete final sentences have  $\iota\nu a$ ,  $\delta\pi\omega s$  has only 18,

ὥς a beggarly three, two of these in lyric and dialectic passages, Lys. 1265, 1305; the third, Eccl. 285, has been corrected *certatim*. Weber lets it stand.

The use of ἵνα τί has already been noticed in connexion with the ὥς τί of Euripides. The ellipsis is usually supplied by γένηται or γένοιτο, but it is better not to formulate. It has evidently come into use from everyday life, and is not due to the genius of any special author. Language is always renewing itself from below as well as from above. *Ut quid* in Latin, on the other hand, seems to be a mechanical translation of the Greek, to which it answers in the Vulgate.<sup>1</sup>

\*Ὅπως ἂν leads ὅπως (24:18), ὥς ἂν leads ὥς (15:3). The latter phenomenon is readily understood. \*Ὅς ἂν is not so much final as relative or conditional. \*Ὅπως and ἵνα are used so much alike in standard prose that they often alternate without any translatable difference. \*Ὅπως ἂν with the subjunctive is more circumstantial, more cautious. Wecklein (l. c.) has noticed that it is preferred in the *tituli honorarii*, and Weber sees in the large use of it in the Lysistrata a parody of official style.

Paratactic μή is used only 8 times. Ordinarily we have ἵνα μή (43), ὅπως μή (9). As to the sequence of tenses, the aor. subj. predominates over the pres., but the pres. opt. doubles the aor. opt., a puzzling phenomenon, encountered before.

The unreal indicative is found with ἵνα three times (imperf. twice, aor. once), with ὅπως once (imperf.).

It was not worth Weber's while to linger on the opt. sequence in Vesp. 109 and Eccl. 349, where the opt. is due to the historical tense of the participle. In Aves 1522 εἰσάγοιτο may be explained by a reference to the time of φασί. Prometheus is reporting what the barbarian gods said. So we find the opt. after a principal tense in *oratio obliqua* with the objective ὥς, Hdt. 1, 70; Thuk. 1, 38 al. (see Kühner, II 882; Kühnast, Repraesentation, s. 32). Φασί involves ἔφασαν as λέγουσι involves ἔλεγον. Familiar is Ranae 23:

αὐτὸς βαδίζω καὶ πονῶ, τοῦτον δ' ὀχῶ  
ἵνα μὴ ταλαιπωροῖτο μηδ' ἄχθος φέροι.

<sup>1</sup> Justin Martyr, Apol. I 40, 37. According to Sittl (Lokale Verschiedenheiten der lat. Sprache) *ut quid* is especially common in African Latinity. True, in Cicero Att. 7, 7, 7 we find Depugna, inquis, potius quam servias. *Ut quid?* Si victus eris, proscribare. But every one must feel that this *ut quid* is easier and more natural than in the Vulgate, where it heads a sentence and corresponds mechanically to the LXX ἵνα τί.



Weber gives it up as a bit of carelessness in Aristophanes himself. It is true that Reisig's 'Dionysus *voluisse* profitetur *ne laboraret*' seems forced, but the translation 'I have been letting him ride' does not. The ride extends from the time Dionysos gave Xanthos the mount.

The subjunctive after principal tenses occurs 13 times. There is an interesting shift from subj. to opt. in Lys. 371 sqq. Lenting reads *κατασβέσωμεν*, but *ἀφίκου*, which precedes, is a double-ender.

Peculiar to Aristophanes is the large use of *ὅπως* with the fut. in the 'complete' final sentence, always after a principal tense. That *ὥς ἂν* and *ὅπως ἂν* should be used only after a principal tense is but natural. The finer shading is lost in the transfer to the past.

In the incomplete final sentence (with verbs of ways and means, etc.), Aristophanes uses *ὅπως* twenty-one times with the fut., *ὅπως μὴ* three, the opt. twice, *ὅπως ἂν* with subj. six times.

The independent or imperative *ὅπως* sentence is very common in Aristophanes, as it must have been very common in conversation. The peculiarity in Aristophanes is, according to Weber, the 'weakening' of the fut. to a mere imperative, as is shown by the combination with the imperative. This at least is better than the nonsense one sometimes reads about the future as a mild form of the imperative. If one controls the action of another so as to predict it, one is absolute master, and the command is just such a command as is given to a slave. It is familiar, not mild.

A curious extension of *ὅπως μὴ* is found in Ach. 343: *ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ 'ν τοῖς τρίβωσιν ἐγκάθηνται πονεῖς λίθοι*, which was not given in L. and S., 7 ed., simply because such oddities belong to the commentary rather than to the lexicon. Yet the omission is to be regretted.

At the close of the dramatic section Weber sums up.

(1) *ὅπως ἂν* introduced to the complete final sentence by Aischylos. (2) Advance of the future. Aischylos introduces it after sentences of fear. (3) Unreal construction with indic. introduced by Aischylos. (4) Independent *ὅπως* sentence introduced by Aischylos, developed by Aristophanes. (5) Indicative with *μὴ* in the incomplete final sentence. (6) The sentences of fear are blended with other kinds of sentences. (7) *ἵνα τί* (Ar.), *ὥς τί* (Eur.). (8) Extension of the antecessive position (*ἵνα*, *ὅπως* precedes). The following table shows the difference between tragic and comic syntax in the complete final sentence:

	ἵνα	ὅπως	ὅπως αν	ὥς	ὥς ἂν
Aisch.	2	11	6	23	11
Soph.	14	31	2	52	5
Eurip.	71	14	7	182	27
Aristoph.	183	18	24	3	15

This table shows the proportionate use of the different particles as measured by each other, but not as to the bulk of the author. Still it is sufficiently significant, though the most important fact that it brings out has long been the common property of students of Attic syntax.

#### C. VI. *Ionic Prose Writers.*

In HERODOTOS, paratactic *μή* does not occur often—8 times in all. Verbs of fear are used freely, and with verbs of fear *μή οὐ*, which Weber considers to have suffered exile from Greek since the Homeric time,<sup>1</sup> a point of view that may lead to all manner of absurdities. Non-occurrence is not the proof of non-existence.

Herodotos also uses the independent sentence of fear with *μή οὐ* (5, 79), where *μή* is intellectual apprehension rather than moral fear.

The sequence of tenses is noteworthy. Of 42 examples we find (1) after principal tenses, the subjunctive nine times (pres. 2, aor. 7); after historical tenses, the opt. three times (pres. 1, aor. 2), but the subj. no less than 29 times. Herodotos, then, has broken through the rule, to the utter confusion of Weber, whose only explanation is simply a circumlocutory account of the phenomenon.<sup>2</sup> This is merely a matter of individual style, not of historical development. The subjunctive has a perfect right to follow an historical tense, and an author of Herodotos' plastic force would be apt to use it. In English, for instance, we sometimes use 'that he be' after a past tense instead of 'that he should be.' Can any one question which is the more forcible expression?

Weber cites, as a curiosity, the subj. [opt.] after the ind. with *ἄν* 8, 53: *οὗτ' ἂν ἥλπισε, μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίη*, as if it were some-

<sup>1</sup> Durch sie, Herodot und Euripides, wurde dieses *μή οὐ* in die griechische Sprache wieder eingebürgert.

<sup>2</sup> Als Erklärungsgrund kann hier nur geltend gemacht werden, dass die Abwehr lediglich durch den Hauptsatz in die Vergangenheit gerückt wird, in dem Satz, der das Abzuwehrende ausdrückt, bleibt die Vergangenheit unbezeichnet.

thing strange. There is no room for attraction where there is an interrogative sentence or a verb of fear.<sup>1</sup>

The following is the table of the number of occurrences in Herodotos: (1) *ἵνα* 107; (2) *ὅπως* 12; (3) *ὅπως ἄν* 5; (4) *ὥς* 16; (5) *ὥς ἄν* 11. All these in the complete final sentence. The most noteworthy points in these statistics are the following: The predominance of *ἵνα* over all others, the predominance of *ὥς* and *ὅπως* pure over *ὥς ἄν* and *ὅπως ἄν*. Hypotaxis far exceeds parataxis, *μή* final is attached to *ἵνα* 43 times, to *ὅπως* once, *ὅπως ἄν* once, *ὥς* four times, and *ὥς ἄν* four times. Paratactic *μή*, as we have seen, occurs only eight times.

*Ὅπως ἄν* with the opt. (Hdt. I, 110) is correctly explained as a relative sentence. But attention ought to have been called to the tone which is given by the resemblance to *πῶς ἄν* with the opt., so often used in poetry to express a wish.<sup>2</sup>

The predominance of the subj. over the opt. in Herodotos is made very clear by the following table of occurrences after historical tenses:

	Opt.	Subj.
<i>ἵνα</i>	23	41
<i>ὅπως</i>	5	6
<i>ὅπως ἄν</i>	3	1
<i>ὥς</i>	5	3
<i>ὥς ἄν</i>	5	4
<i>μή</i>	3	2
Sentences of fear	3	29
	<hr/> 47	<hr/> 86

The subj. after historical tenses, heretofore used occasionally only, becomes the rule. A difference between subj. and opt. is not discernible even when the two occur together (4, 139; 7, 8; 9, 51); *a fortiori* is this true when the sentences are separated. Weber's conclusion is that we have here a simplification of language. It

<sup>1</sup> Dem. 19, 40: ἐγραφον ἂν ἡλίχ' ὑμᾶς εὖ ποιήσω εἰ εὖ ᾔδη—Plat. Symp. 193 E: πάντ' ἂν ἐφοβοῦμην μὴ ἀπορήσωσι λόγων—Plat. Theait. 143 E: ἐφοβοῦμην ἂν σφόδρα λέγειν μὴ δόξω.

<sup>2</sup> Section omitted by L. and S., s. v. *ὅπως* with opt. and *ἄν* (1) in its usu. potential sense: *ὅπως ἄν τις ὀνομάσαι τοῦτο*, Dem. 13, 4, *however one may be disposed to call it*; (2) With a final coloring by *which means* (rare): *διώρυχα . . . ὀρύσσειν ἀγοντα μηνοειδέα ὅπως ἄν (hoping to take, cf. πῶς ἄν) τὸ στρατόπεδον κατὰ νῶτον λάβοι*, Hdt. I, 75, cf. 99, 110; 2, 126; Aesch. Ag. 364, Thuc. 7, 65, Xen. Hell. 4, 8, 16.

would be better to say a return to the older basis. Simplification would be a more appropriate expression when speaking of such a stage of the language as we encounter in the New Testament, where *iva* with the opt. is unknown.

In regard to the incomplete final sentence *ὅπως* occurs with the future 24 times, after principal and after historical tenses, with the opt. after historical tenses or equivalents four times, with the subj. after historical tenses four times. *ὅπως ἄν* with the opt. after historical tenses four times, *ὅς* with the future three times, *ὅς ἄν* with the aor. subj. after a principal tense, 3, 85. Remarkable is the use of *ὅπως ἄν* with the subj. after an historical tense, 1, 20. Usually *repraesentatio* does not go into such details, and Herodotos' reproduction of the state of mind of Periander must be set down to the credit of his *ἐνάργεια*.<sup>1</sup> Imperative *ὅπως* occurs once (3, 142).

What Weber says of HIPPOKRATES does not rest on personal research of his own, and is too slight to bear abstracting. The most important point is the exclusive use of *ὅς* in complete final sentences.

The detailed abstract and the many comments above given must serve as the testimony of the reviewer to the importance of Weber's work. The final sentence is now, for the first time, presented in its chronological data. One may rebel against calling such work historical syntax, because we have really nothing more than a classification of occurrences, and it is taken for granted throughout, and sometimes, as has been indicated, without reason, that each author represents fully the thesaurus of his time. The personal equation is the great difficulty, and cannot be solved without a theory of the totality of syntactical phenomena in each author. Still such chronological statistics, such records of the behavior of certain particles in certain authors, in certain departments, in certain periods, are of great importance. Without them, a history of Greek syntax is impossible. Without them, a scientific theory of syntactical style is impossible. Without them, it is impossible to understand the course of later Greek, which, after all, has an organic life, though that organic life is of such complexity that even when the mastery of classic syntax is attained, generations of students will find work enough to do in exploring its processes and its diseases.

<sup>1</sup> Kühnast (Die Repraesentation, S. 153) notices the rarity of this *repraesentatio*, and indulges in unavailing and unavailable metaphysics about the difference between the 'objectivirte' and the 'objective Ausdrucksweise.' By the way, Weber has not made a solitary reference to Kühnast's elaborate work.

As soon as the second part of Dr. Weber's treatise reaches us, another study will be consecrated to the subject. Only, as has been said before, the Attic final sentence does not present the same difficulties as the early forms, although we shall have to encounter the troublesome question of the use of ὅπως with subj. and fut.

In conclusion, a serious gap must be noted in Weber's treatment of the final sentence—the omission of the relative form. While he admits that ὅπως is a relative, he is satisfied with giving Nägelsbach's six forms of the final relative in Homer (p. 64), without any comment except that the ὅπως form corresponding to ὅς κεν εἴποι is represented only in one passage (I 680), and that the form corresponding to ὅς κεν ἐρεῖ is doubtful (p. 144). The study of the moods of the relative ought genetically to have preceded the study of this form of the final sentence.

Yet another form of the final sentence, the future participle, and the important outgrowth ὥς with the future participle, should not have been omitted. The latter construction is one of the most interesting in Greek, and should not be relegated altogether to the domain of *oratio obliqua*, though *oratio obliqua* is the only ultimate explanation of it.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Justin Martyr, Apol. I 4, 19. The construction is often parallel with other final turns, as in Ar. Eccl. 782:

ἔστηκεν ἐκτείνοντα τὴν χεῖρ' ὑπτίαν  
οὐχ ὥς τι δώσουν' ἀλλ' ὅπως τι λήψεται.



### III.—T. L. BEDDOES,<sup>1</sup> A SURVIVAL IN STYLE.

#### I.

Buffon said, "Show me the style and I'll show you the man" [*le style est de l'homme même*]. Puttenham (*Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, p. 161) wrote with equal justice: "his [man's] inward conceits be the metall of his minde, and his manner of utterance the very warp and woofe of his conceits"; or, in other words, "show me the man, and I'll show you his style."

<sup>1</sup> Born 1803, at Clifton, England; son of the Dr. Thos. Beddoes whose life was published by Dr. Stock, 1811. In 1825 he went to Germany, and, with the exception of a few transient visits to England, lived there, as a distinguished medical student and scholar, until his death at Basel in 1849. Twice he was recommended for the chair of medicine in two German universities, and Prof. Blumenbach, of Goettingen, declared him possessed of an amount of talent which exceeded that of every other student who had received instruction under him during the fifty years of his professorship. With the exception of "Death's Jest Book," B.'s chief drama, most of his poetry was written before his departure from England; and during the last twenty years of his life he neither produced much nor published. At his death he consigned his MSS to the disposal of his friend, T. F. Kelsall, "to print or not as he might think proper."

Kelsall's edition, accompanied by a very able Memoir, appeared in 1851 (London, W. Pickering), and is now very scarce. This fact, and the very meagre notices of Beddoes in books of reference, have seemed to make the foregoing particulars necessary. The following interesting judgments are added to show how little is known of Beddoes, and how well he deserves study: "His later dramatic compositions and fragments, though showing a certain vigorous and passionate thought, have an increasing tendency to exaggeration and extravagance, and are hardly amenable to the ordinary rules of criticism" (!). —J. M. Graham, *An Hist. View of Lit. and Art in Great Britain*, London, 1871, p. 191, note. "In 1850 appeared as a posthumous work a wild play, musical throughout, with grand echoes of Elizabethan thought and passion, the *Death's Jest Book* of Thomas Lovell Beddoes, who died young in 1849."—H. Morley, *Engl. Plays*, p. 434. "Nearly two centuries have elapsed since a work of the same wealth of genius as *Death's Jest Book* hath been given to the world."—W. S. Landor, in *Forster's Life of L.* II 495. "Now as to extracts which might be made: why, you might pick out scenes, passages, lyrics, fine as fine can be; the power of the man is immense and irresistible."—Robert Browning, *Letter to T. F. Kelsall*.

Beddoes' Poems and Letters are one more welcome illustration of the truth of Buffon's observation; but, in a far higher sense, of Puttenham's. Here the style is the direct, necessary expression of the writer's inmost nature. Since he was in the highest degree original, the fact has a significance, in matters of English style, far deeper than has been attributed to it.

The Natural History of English Style remains to be written. Meanwhile, the path by which its chief laws may be traced out and confirmed must traverse the works of those authors who were original *and national*; who, if they borrowed, assimilated matter and manner as well to a certain *Volksgeist* as to their own genius; and who were all, in a greater or less degree, the natural heirs, the opulent users and transmitters, of what might be called the residuum of English expression. It is not likely that many English poets, from Cynewulf down, were conscious of exercising any such vestal office, but this very unconsciousness renders the facts and the value of them more unimpeachable. Shakspeare's dramas and Milton's *Comus* offer very valuable material for the study of alliteration in English, though the former ridicules its abuse (*Mids. N. D.* I 2; *Love's L. L.* IV 2, etc.), and the latter, while explicit enough as to "the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter and lame metre" [rhyme], does not mention alliteration in his definition of "true musical delight" (*Introd. to Par. Lost*).

If we class the characteristic works in English literature with reference to the history of style into three periods, the Anglo-Saxon epic style and Shakspeare represent two of them. The third has no complete representative, but among its most significant writers (style being here assumed to have little more to do with constructive power than in the case of the Anglo-Saxon poets) is Thomas Lovell Beddoes.

Beddoes' intimate connection with Shakspeare, in point of thought and style, is so marked that he has been called an Elizabethan, "a strayed singer," and the like. His more general relation to the historical development of English literature and style has been perceived only dimly.

The *Encycl. Brit.*, 10th ed., article Beddoes, says: "He may be termed a Gothic Keats, the Teutonic counterpart of his more celebrated contemporary's Hellenism. The spirit of Gothic architecture seems to live in his verse, its grandeur and grotesqueness, its mystery and gloom." Beddoes himself calls *Death's Jest Book* "a Gothic-styled tragedy," and Kelsall, his biographer, I cxxi,

"the Gothic drama." Remembering the 18th century definition, or lack of definition, of the word Gothic, the following notices are more satisfactory: "I intend to study Anglo-Saxon soon" (Letters, p. lxxv); "He never revisited Italy, and he certainly was seldom in France; the national characters, modes of thinking, and literatures of those peoples not being accordant with his mind, *which was altogether Teutonic*" (Kelsall, I cxij). The discriminating biographer of Beddoes reaches here a truth which even he fails to discern and apply when speaking directly of B.'s style. The object of this article is to show that his style is Germanic (Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic), that it is Shakspearian, and (what follows from the foregoing) that it contains the chief elements of the historical English style.

The ideal English style for the epic, and for the tragic drama, is confessedly a weighty one. The word, as well as the thought, must clash down in the scales. Anglo-Saxon poetry is a series of such hammer-strokes, as it were. The disconnectedness (partly induced by paratactic construction) is sometimes intolerable to a modern ear; but the immense advantage of a modified style of that character is very apparent in the enormous force gained from the sudden fling of Shakspearian metaphors. It is very plain that *strong* figures are the corner-stone of style, but especially of English style. There is, however, a difficulty at the outset in comparing any strong English style with Anglo-Saxon. The A. S. epic-lyric poetry is very subjective, and works through the feelings upon the feelings in the strongest manner. Shakspeare, though bound to no device in style, and touching all keys, delights to work chiefly through the pictures of a glowing imagination upon the kindling imagination of the hearer. With him the action upon the feelings is not least powerful when indirect. The deficiency in A. S. shows itself in unprecise figures of speech, or in sufficiently precise but fragmentary epithets, now varied and now doubling upon themselves. The force spent in figures is astounding,<sup>1</sup> but we do not seem to get on. The tone, powerful though it is, becomes elegiac, almost passive. Heinzel (*Ueber den Stil der altgerman. Poesie*, Strassburg, 1875) and Gummere (*The Anglo-Saxon Metaphor*, Halle, 1881) have shown that Christian influence is at work here; an influence, however, which Gummere has convincingly shown to be limited in its operation. A. Hoff-

<sup>1</sup> The adjective *heard* occurs 12 times in *Byrhtnôð*.

mann (Der bildliche Ausdruck im Beowulf und in der Edda, Englische Studien, VI 163-216) is of the opinion that the Old-Norse, which is notoriously rich in similes, while A. S. is not, has been able to develop them because the Norse poets aimed at a living and concrete presentation of what they had to tell, and realized this through figures of speech, and especially through the simile. But Gummere is undoubtedly right in asserting that the Anglo-Saxon did not use the simile more, because he had not time for such balanced and leisure utterance (see also ten Brink, Gesch. der Engl. Lit. 24). But this is completely true only of the fully expressed, developed simile. The latter figure, more especially when combined with metaphor, is nearly as natural a vehicle of hurrying thought as the metaphor pure and simple. Our American (humorous) slang is a witness to its energy. Hegel also has shown (Aesthetik, I 536) that many of Shakspeare's similes are effective even in the most moving situations and in high excitement. A chief characteristic of the simile, apparently not noticed by Heinzel and Gummere, is that it addresses itself to the understanding and the imagination primarily (Hegel defines the object of the simile to be "die klar vor Bewusstsein stehende Bedeutung in der Gestalt einer verwandten Aeusserlichkeit zu veranschaulichen," cited by Marheineke in Herrig's Archiv, LI 174). The metaphor may work upon these primarily, but it has in serious poetry usually a distinct element of feeling. The metaphor is warm; it absorbs and gives out heat, whether of feeling or imagination. The simile is diaphanous, scintillating, a glancing aside; it reflects the light of the intellect cast upon it.

How far a subjective style, proceeding directly from and to the feelings, is an original characteristic of A. S. poetry, must be left to more searching investigations than have yet been made. The elegiac character would seem inherent in the race. The cuckoo is a bringer of sad thoughts to the A. S., of joyful thoughts to the German. Melancholy has been said by an acute observer (Brandes, Hauptströmungen der Literatur des 19 Jahrhunderts, I 59 ff.) to be a matter of *raisonnement* with the French, but of temperament with the English. Many A. S. poems, many early incidents and anecdotes, would seem to confirm this view. And yet we find the second period of bloom in English literature—the Elizabethan—uniting those characteristics which have been shown to favor both the metaphor and that variety of the simile which unites clearness, conciseness, and power. Nor have the conditions

changed since, except that as the literature lost in intensity, the simile gained upon the metaphor, and itself lost in compactness. The Elizabethan style can be shown to represent, in the main, the national English style in all periods. It is also at least probable that an early dramatic tendency in A. S. literature would have brought with it a freer use of the simile, and that the whole character of it, as regards the use of figures, would have been an embryonic Elizabethan. It is far more probable that every succeeding return to true dramatic writing in English will show a recurrence to the character of his writing who is English of the English—Shakspeare.

The preceding discussion has made it possible to define Beddoes' style more narrowly. In his use of *Kennings* he is, on the whole, more Anglo-Saxon than Shakspeare, and perhaps more brilliant than any poet since Shakspeare. In the relative use of simile and metaphor he differs scarcely from Shakspeare, and approaches very near the ideal that Whately sets up (Rhet. Pt. III, Ch. II, §3): "Where the case will not admit of pure metaphor, generally prefer a mixture of metaphor and simile; first pointing out the similitude, and afterwards employing metaphorical terms which imply it; or *vice versa*, explaining a metaphor by a statement of the comparison." There is scarcely a tedious or a lame simile in the whole of Beddoes' works. In the character and quality of his metaphors B. is not less forcible, unlabored, and beautiful than Shakspeare, but he is far less many-sided, and often less judicious. Other minor points will be mentioned in order.

*Beddoes' relation to Shakspeare and to his own age.*

Of English authors, Beddoes was intimate only with Barry Cornwall. Among his contemporaries he admired chiefly Wordsworth, Shelley, and Keats; but "his admiration and delight fully rested in Shelley alone." Shakspeare he worshipped.

"Shakspeare was an incarnation of nature, and you might just as well attempt to remodel the seasons, and the laws of life and death, as to alter 'one jot or tittle' of his eternal thoughts. . . . He was an universe; and all material existence, with its excellencies and defects, was reflected in shadowy thought upon the crystal waters of his imagination, ever-glorified as they were by the sleepless sun of his golden intellect. And this imaginary universe had its seasons and changes, its harmonies and its discords, as well as the dirty reality; on the snow-maned necks of its winter hurricanes rode madness, despair, and 'empty death, with the winds whistling through the white grating of his



sides'; its summer of poetry, glistening through the drops of pity; and its solemn and melancholy autumn, breathing deep melody among the sere and yellow leaves of thunder-stricken life." Letter, March 3, 1824.

"These are the honey-minutes of the year,  
Which make man god, and make a god—Shakspeare."

Letter from Oxford, 1825.

"Witness kind Shakspeare, our recording angel." Lines written in Switzerland (I 215).

"To my mind the only error of the Cenci is that its splendid author seemed to have the Greeks, instead of Shakspeare, as his model in his mind's eye." Letter, Nov. 21, 1823.

"Not in the age, but in the spirit of his verse, written after their grand manner, was he of the brotherhood of our Elizabethan worthies." T. F. Kelsall in *Fortn. Rev.* XVIII 51.

"Is it not really a ridiculous fact, that, of all our modern dramatists, none . . . has approached, in any degree, to the form of play delivered to us by the founders of the stage? All—from Massinger and Shirley down to Shiel and Knowles—more or less French. The people are in this case wiser than the critics." Letter, February, 1829.

And yet Beddoes will be no imitator, nor Shakspeare reviver.

"I am convinced the man who is to awaken the drama must be a bold trampling fellow, no creeper into wormholes, no reviver even, however good . . . With the greatest reverence for all the antiquities of the drama [he refers to Marlowe, Webster, etc.], I still think we had better beget than revive, attempt to give the literature of this age an idiosyncrasy and spirit of its own, and only raise a ghost to gaze on, not to live with. Just now the drama is a haunted ruin." Letter, January, 1825.

"He borrowed nothing, either from his Elizabethan precursors, or the chief objects of his admiration among his contemporaries, Keats and Shelley." *Encyc. Brit.*, 10th ed., article Beddoes.

While B.'s language seems to possess all the elements of the Shakspearian, there is no trace of the consciously antique in it, not even a single instance of "Marry, a parlous child," or the like. Once only, in the *Bride's Tragedy*, written while he was still a minor, an antique phrase occurs: "her cheeks with grief ybrined." I 1.

Intimately connected with Beddoes' remarks on Shakspeare, and important in the matter of his affinities in style, is his opinion of his own writings:

"I read Shakspeare and Wordsworth . . . and doubt, and seem to myself a very Bristol diamond," I xcii. "I begin to prefer anatomy to poetry, I mean to my own, . . . besides, I never could have been the real thing as a writer. There *shall* be no more accurate physiologist and dissector," I lvi. "I would

really not give a shilling for anything I have written, nor sixpence for anything I am likely to write," I lxxvii (1827). "Such verses as these, and their brethren, will never be preserved to be pasted on the inside of the coffin of our planet," I lxxviii. "Such dogggrell" [Death's Jest Book], I lv. "I open my own page, and see at once what d—d trash it all is—no truth or feeling. . . I thank heaven that I am settling down pretty steadily to medical studies; labour there can do almost all," I lvii. "He [Procter] is only about as much too brief as I am too long-winded. . . My cursed fellows in the Jest Book would palaver immeasurably, and I could not prevent them," I lxxix. "[This] age of crockery," I lxi. "Here . . . in Melpomene's sepulchre in Germany," I lix. "Moore's song style is the best *false* one I know, and glitters like broken glass," I xc.

Kelsall (I xxiii) thinks that B.'s Pygmalion is "the sole instance of a direct impress from another mind, in the whole compass of his poetry." Absolutely none have been found in Death's Jest Book, and the following reminiscences of Shakspeare in the earlier pieces are the scanty gleanings of all the labor in this direction:

Second Brother, I 2 (Vol. I, pp. 16-17) [too long to quote], cf. Macbeth, III 3, 40-120.

Bride's Tragedy, II 2 (Vol. I 204):

"He is the glass of all good qualities."

cf. Hamlet, III 1, 161; 2 Hen. IV, II 3, 21, 31.

Bride's Tragedy, II 4 (I 220-1), cf. the monologue of Hesperus with Macbeth, II 1, 33 ff.

*Ibid.* III 2 (I 232):

"Thou that with dew-cold finger softly closest  
The wearied eye; thou sweet, thou gentle power,  
Soother of woe, sole friend of the oppressed."

cf. Macbeth, II 2, 37.

It must be remembered that the Bride's Tragedy was written when Beddoes was 19 years old.

#### *Beddoes' Epithets, Kennings.<sup>1</sup>*

Among B.'s early memoranda, "made for his own guidance in the mechanics of dramatic art," occur the words: "Marstonic lines for Melchior; metaphors of hell, lower animals; try the effect of using no epithets," I xxi. This was the exception with Beddoes. He employs the epithet with the large freedom of the A. S. poet, and with unsurpassed skill. "The poet's (*i. e.* Beddoes') magic is in the web of his verse; and penetrating every portion of its

<sup>1</sup> O. N. Kenningar = descriptive names, synonyms.

texture, it makes its presence felt in his most fragmentary compositions, in single lines, and often in mere epithets." Kelsall.

*The Moon.* This wife for a month of the earth (Letters, lviii); cf. the O. E. "Adam's grandmother," for the earth. The primrose-sandalled moon (Sec. Bro. I 1). That wolf-howled, witch-prayed, owl-sung fool, fat mother moon (Death's Jest Book, III 3). The ashes of noon's beams [moonlight] (D. J. B. I 105).

*Star.* Stingy star-shine (D. J. B. III 3). Star-hilted lightning (Sec. Bro. II 2). The unshaven Nazarite of stars [comet] unbinds his wondrous locks (S. B. III 1); cf. Shaksp. 1 Hen. VI, I 1, 3, and Webster (White Devil, V 1), rough-bearded comet. Star-nailed cloud (Vol. I 114). My love-consumed incense star [his wife, who died in childbirth] (D. J. B. III 3); incense comes, or came, into the market in round, reddish-yellow pellets of hazel-nut size. Star-numbered tresses [numberless] (D. J. B. II 2). The tide of night, with its star-tipped billows bright (I 207). Night—her breast o'erwrit with golden secresies (I 136). With the foregoing compare the following from Shakspeare: All yon fiery oes and eyes of light (M. N. D. III 2, 188). Look, how the floor of heaven is inlaid with patines of bright gold (M. of V. V 1, 58). Night's candles are burnt out (R. & J. III 5, 9). These blessed candles of the night (M. of V. V 1 220). There's husbandry in heaven, their candles are all out (Macb. II 1, 4). Cf. the Anglo-Saxon epithets for the sun: *dæȝ-candel* (Riddles, 88<sup>ab</sup>); *dæȝ-sceald* (Ex. 79); *weder-candel* (Andr. 372). The spots of heaven, more fiery by night's blackness (A. & C. I 4, 12). The cinders of the element (2 Hen. IV, IV 3, 57). Diana's waiting women (Tr. & Cr. V 2, 91).

*Earth.* This grave-paved star (D. J. B. III 3). A hoary, atheistic, murderous star (D. J. B. II 2). Hell-hearted bastard of the sun (D. J. B. II 2); the metaphor = hell-containing; Beddoes never throws away adjectives. This sepulchral planet (D. J. B. I 1); similar to the preceding. This dear planet of wool and leather [of people requiring clothing] (D. J. B. III 3); cf. Old-Norse *vind-kers botn* [floor beneath the wind-cup] (Vigfusson, Corpus Poeticum Boreale, II 456).

*Natural Phenomena, etc.* The semi-eternal stony populace of the planet [old towers] (Letters, lxi). Noah's world-washing shower [Deluge] (D. J. B. III 3). Forest-powdering winds (Sec. Bro. II 1). The labyrinthine winds (S. B. I 2). Man-mocking air [ghost] (S. B. III 3). Branch-dividing, light noon air (S. B.

III 2). In the mead, nightingale-nested (S. B. I 2). Sheep-specked pastures (S. B. I 2). Storm-souled fleets (D. J. B. III 3). The palace-banked streets [of arched Grüssau] (D. J. B. II 2). Tiny thunderer of flowers [bee] (Torrismund, I 3). The bee, in pied velvet dight (Bri. Trag. I 1). That winged song, the restless nightingale (B. T. I 1). The Danaë of flowers, with gold uphoarded on its virgin lap [daisy] (B. T. I 1). The blue violet, like Pandora's eye, when first it darkened with immortal life (B. T. I 1). A kiss-coloured rose (D. J. B. II 2). The sea-wide grave (Sec. Bro. II 2). Ghost-gaping (Letters, xxxviii). Arches and their caves, now double-nighted with heaven's and that creeping darkness, ivy (D. J. B. III 3). The caved Triton's azure day [sea] (D. J. B. I 1); cf. the following Anglo-Saxon and Old-Norse kennings for the sea: *fāmȝe feldas* (E. 287), *ganotes bæð* (B. 1861), *fiscas bæð* (Andr. 293), *yða ful* [beaker of waves] (B. 1208), *fāmiȝ bōsma* (E. 493), *seȝl-rād* (B. 1429), *swan rād* (B. 200), *hron rād* (G. 205), *laȝu stræt* (B. 239), *ȝeofenes beȝanȝ* (B. 362), *flōða beȝonȝ* (B. 1497), *wæteres hrycȝ* (B. 471), *ēȝor here* (G. 1537), *merehūses mūð* (G. 1362), *brim lād* (B. 1051), *wætres brōga* (G. 1395), *gār secȝ* [the rager; see H. Sweet in Engl. Stud. II 314 ff.] (G. 117), *blá-mœr* (Vigfusson, II 457), *Rán-himin* (II 470), and the following additional O. N. kennings for objects in nature, etc.: *vind-hialmr* [sky, wind-helmet] (II 457), *vind-flot* [wind-floe, cloud] (II 457), *ár-tali* [year-teller, moon] (II 454), *unda-bý* [wound-bees, arrows] (II 484), *kald-nefr* [cold neb, anchor] (II 458); cf. Shaksp. The babbling gossip of the air [echo] (Tw. N. I 5, 292); Rich scarf to my proud earth [rainbow] (Temp. IV 1, 82).

*Time.* Life, that glassy interval twixt us and nothing (Vol. I, 111). The shadow of Rome's death [Middle Ages] (Letters, lxx). Sword-straight, and poison-quick [good instance of B.'s preference of metaphor to simile, as quicker]. The world-sanded eternity (D. J. B. III 3).

*Man.* This deserted human engine [man in despair] (D. J. B. II 3). The bloody, soul-possessed weed, called man (D. J. B. III 3). This crime-haired head (D. J. B. IV 3). Brutus, thou saint of the avenger's order (D. J. B. I 1). Plead . . . with a tongue love-oiled (D. J. B. IV 1). [You] have a heart that's Cupid's arrow-cushion, worn out with use (D. J. B. II 2). This chrysalis of Psyche (D. J. B. IV 4). A prison, a dismal ante-chamber of the tomb, where creatures dwell, whose ghosts but

half inhabit their ruinous flesh-houses (Bri. Tr. I 3); cf., especially with the last two instances: *sāwle-hord* (B. 2422), *sāwel hūs* (Guth. 1003), *feorh hūs* (Byrhtn. 297), *lic hama* (Crist 628), *bān hūs* (B. 3147), *ferhð loca* (E. 267), *bréost loca* (D. 167), *bān hringas* (B. 1567), *ferhð cōfa* (G. 2603), *bréost cōfa* (G. 574), *mun-strönd* [breast, shore of the mind] (Vigfusson, II 452), *svefna-ker* [eyelids, cups of sleep] (II 452), *tára-vellir* [eye, cauldron of tears] (II 452; see also II 450 for further explanation of the figure), *val-dögg* [blood, wound-dew] (II 484); cf. further in Shakspeare: This gap of breath [mouth] (K. John, III 4, 32); The anvil of my sword [my enemy] (Coriol. IV 5, 116); This foolish-compounded clay, man (2 Hen. IV, I 28).

*Abstract.* Swan-necked obedience (S. B. III 1). War, the spear-maned dragon (S. B. III 1). Humbleness, the lark that climbs heaven's stairs, but lives upon the ground (S. B. II 2). Glass oaths (Torrism. I 2). The meek and twilight-loving eye of lone religion (Bri. Tr. I 3). Prim Conscience's old tailor, Hypocrisy (B. T. IV 1). The Plague, the spotted fiend, the drunkard of the tomb (Vol. I, 145). The body-bursting spirit's yearnings (D. J. B. III 3); cf. *Him wæs ǵeomor sefa, wæfre and wælfūs* (Beow. 2419). Rehearsing death [sleep] (D. J. B. III 3); cf. Shakspeare, O sleep, thou ape of death (Cymb. II 2, 31), and O. N. *draum-þing* [sleep, parliament of dreams] (Vigfusson, II 457).

A further search for characteristic epithets in the authors of the Elizabethan age, and even in the works of modern poets, would doubtless yield many good ones; *e. g.* Sir Ph. Sidney (Sonn. lxx), Grief but Love's wintry livery is; and Shelley (Cenci, 468), That palace-walking devil, Gold; and especially Keats, as in Hyperion, B. I.: Those green-robed senators of mighty woods, tall oaks, branch-charmed by earnest stars, dream, and so dream all night without a stir. This last has, as might be expected, epic fulness, as contrasted with Shakspeare's and Beddoes' nervous dramatic energy. But probably neither Keats, nor Beddoes (Anglo-Saxon though he is), nor any other English writer, has anything so extraordinarily Anglo-Saxon as Shakspeare's "anvil of my sword" for "my enemy." Webster's "A politician is the devil's quilted anvil," is different (Duchess of Malfi, III 2). A careful reading of several later and contemporary poets, with this very point in view, again brings out the fact that in no matter of detail are the genius and art of the poet more perceptible and nicely balanced than in



the use of epithets. Only a few English writers have reached the energy and excellence of the A. S. in this. Beddoes is probably the most distinguished example since Shakspeare. Audacity alone cannot produce fine intense metaphor. Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* is an instance. He escapes into Spanish or maudlin as soon as his very limited metaphor-condensing power is exceeded. The dictionaries of the English dialects contain many good examples, and so does English slang-speech. But in both cases the anonymous framers have worked in the same line of thought as the Anglo-Saxon folk-poets. The A. S. and Shakspearian epithets, together with those of Beddoes, are the very "axles of thought, kindling with swiftness," and roll on quite too fast for many a modern poet's introspective amble.

HENRY WOOD.

[*To be continued.*]

#### IV.—NOTES.

##### JOHN EVELYN'S PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

To the student of XVIIth century literature or history, there are few more attractive and suggestive works than the Correspondence of John Evelyn. His letters embrace almost every feature of contemporary life, social, political, educational, and literary. Whether attesting his devotion to his fallen master, or commenting upon the judgments of God as displayed in the butchery of the regicides, approving the merciless punishment inflicted upon Titus Oates, or speculating upon British antiquities, he is uniformly genial, frequently instructive, rarely prolix. Among the great variety of topics touched by Evelyn's versatile pen, was "the improvement of the English tongue." He has left on record a scheme devised by him as "Chairman of a committee appointed by the now organized Royal Society, to consider of the improvement of the English tongue," see Evelyn's Correspondence, Vol. III 159-62, Letter to Sir Peter Wyche, 1665. Much of the peculiar interest of Evelyn's scheme is derived from the circumstance that some of his recommendations anticipated by nearly two centuries changes in orthography, which have either been actually adopted or strongly urged by leading lexicographers and phonetists in our own day. This remark applies with especial force to the dropping of the *u* in such words as *honour*; and the leaving off of the *ugh* in the word *though*, one of the specific changes suggested by a special committee upon the reform of our spelling, appointed several years ago under the auspices of the American Philological Association.

After a somewhat elaborate introduction, abounding in self-depreciation and conventional civilities, Evelyn proceeds to set forth his scheme as follows:

"I conceive the reason, both of additions to and corruptions of the English language, as of most other tongues, has proceeded from the same causes; namely, from victories, plantations, frontiers, staples of commerce, pedantry of schools, affectation of travellers,

translations, fancy and style of court, vernility and mincing of citizens, pulpits, political remonstrances, theatres, shops, etc.

"The parts affected with it we find to be the accent, analogy, direct interpretation, tropes, phrases, and the like.

"I. I would, therefore, humbly propose that there might first be compiled a grammar for the precepts, which (as did the Romans when Crates transferred the art to that city, followed by Diomedes, Prisciannus, and others who undertook it) might only insist on the rules, the sole means to render it a learned and learnable tongue.

"II. That with this a more certain orthography were introduced, as by leaving out superfluous letters, etc.; such as *o* in *woomen*, *people*; *u* in *honour*; *a* in *reproach*; *ugh* in *though*, etc.

"III. That there might be invented some new periods and accents, besides such as our grammarians and critics use, to assist, inspirit, and modify the pronunciation of sentences, and to stand as marks beforehand how the voice and tone is to be governed; as in reciting of plays, reading of verses, etc., for the varying the tone of the voice, and affections, etc.

"IV. To this might follow a lexicon or collection of all the pure English words by themselves; then those which are derivative from others, with their prime, certain, and natural signification; then the symbolical, so as no innovation might be used or favored, at least till there should arise some necessity of providing a new edition, and of amplifying the old upon mature advice.

"V. That in order to this, some were appointed to collect all the technical words, especially those of the more generous employments, as the author of the '*Essaies des Merveilles de la Nature, et des plus nobles Artifices*' has done for the French, and Francis Junius and others have endeavored for the Latin; but this must be gleaned from shops, not books, and has been of late attempted by Mr. Moxon.

"VI. That things difficult to be translated or expressed, and such as are, as it were, incommensurable one to another, as determinations of weights and measures; coins, honors, national habits, arms, dishes, drinks, municipal constitutions of courts, old and abrogated customs, etc., were better interpreted than as yet we find them in dictionaries, glossaries, and noted in the lexicon.

"VII. That a full catalogue of exotic words, such as are daily minted by our *Logodaedali*, were exhibited, and that it were resolved on what should be sufficient to render them current, *ut civitate donentur*; since without restraining that same *indomitam*

*novandi verba licentiam*, it will in time quite disguise the language. There are some elegant words, introduced by physicians chiefly and philosophers, worthy to be retained; others, it may be, fitter to be abrogated, since there ought to be a law as well as a liberty in this particular. And in this choice there would be some regard had to the well-sounding and more harmonious words; and such as are numerous, and apt to fall gracefully into their cadences and periods, and so recommend themselves at the very first sight as it were; others, which (like false stones) will never shine in whatever light they be placed, but embase the rest. And here I note that such as have lived long in Universities do greatly affect words and expressions nowhere in use beside, as may be observed in Cleveland's Poems for Cambridge; and there are also some Oxford words used by others, as I might instance in several.

"VIII. Previous to this it would be inquired what particular dialects, idioms, and proverbs were in use in every several county of England; for the words of the present age being properly the *vernacula*, or classic, rather special regard is to be had of them, and this consideration admits of infinite improvements.

"IX. And happily it were not amiss that we had a collection of the most quaint and courtly expressions, by way of *florilegium*, or phrases distinct from the proverbs, for we are infinitely defective as to civil addresses, excuses, and forms upon sudden and unpremeditated (though ordinary) encounters; in which the French, Italians, and Spaniards have a kind of natural grace and talent, which furnishes the conversation and renders it very agreeable; here may come in synonyms, homoinyms, etc.

"X. And since there is likewise a manifest rotation and circling of words, which go in and out like the mode and fashion, books should be consulted for the reduction of some of the old laid-aside words and expressions had formerly in *deliciis*; for our language is in some places sterile and barren, by reason of this depopulation, as I may call it; and therefore such places should be new cultivated and enriched, either with the former (if significant) or some other. For example, we have hardly any words that do so fully express the French *clinguant*, *naïveté*, *ennui*, *bizarre*, *concert*, *façonier*, *chicaneries*, *consommé*, *emotion*, *defer*, *effort*, *chocq*, *entours*, *débouche*; or the Italian *vaghezza*, *garbato*, *svelto*. Let us, therefore (as the Romans did the Greek), make as many of these do homage as are like to prove good citizens.

"XI. Something might likewise be well translated out of the best orators and poets, Greek and Latin, and even out of the modern

languages, so that some judgment might be made concerning the elegance of the style, and a laudable and unaffected imitation of the best recommended to writers."

To the student of English, Evelyn's scheme for improving the language cannot fail to present points of marked interest and suggestiveness. He will recall the coincidence, that Mr. Jefferson, like Evelyn, advocated the study of the English county dialects, and will note with gratification the fact that, in our own day, the recommendations of both have assumed a definite shape in the formation of "Dialect Societies." Dr. Murray, editor of the great English Dictionary now in process of publication, has only of late repeated Evelyn's wish for more extensive and accurate collections of the technical terms in the language. The "reduction of old laid-aside words and expressions had formerly *in deliciis*," may be regarded as a characteristic of one of our modern philological schools. Furnivall, Oliphant, and Freeman have not labored without perceptible results.

It is but recently that an author of established fame has revived, in ordinary prose, the "*rath*" of our ancient usage (Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe, J. A. Symonds, Vol. II, p. 108). That the author of "English As She Is Spoke" should have, without design, "reduced" "*rather*" to its olden prerogative is a striking philological phenomenon. (See Appleton's Edition, p. 29.)

There are few writers of the XVII century who portray so faithfully the inner life of their era as Evelyn. To the student of history, as well as the student of philology, he is alike rich in suggestion and instruction.

H. E. SHEPHERD.

#### NOTE ON MERCATOR, v. 524.

Ovém tibi eccillám dabo, natam ánnos sexagínta,  
525 Pecúliarem. PAS. Meí senex, tam vétulam? LYS. Generis graécist.  
Eam seí curabeis, pérbonast: tondétur nimium scíte.

OVEM A, 'prisca exemplaria' Pii. *Quem* BCD; *tibi eccillam* Bothius. TIBIEÇILLAM, A; sed EC litteris incertis *tibi ecce illam*, CDFZ; *tibi ancillā*, B; permíro iudicio inde a Camerario propagatum, nec Grutero suspectum in Appul. t. III, p. 435 Oud.

Goetz gives the following conjectures: *tibi aniculam* (Bueche-ler); *tibi bellam* (*bellulam*) (Gertz, Schenkl); *tibi ad rem illam*



(Ussing); *tibi millam* (Bugge). To these Ribbeck has recently added another, *auratam* (Program of Leipzig Univ. 1882-3, p. 26). Both Buecheler and Ribbeck agree that *eccillam* is impossible, as the *ovis* is neither upon the stage to be pointed out, nor in the house which Pasicompsa is about to enter. Of course in *natam annos sexaginta* there is a covert allusion, which Pasicompsa does not understand, to Demipho, whom Lysimachus in v. 567 addresses as *vervex*. I propose to read *Apulam*. In v. 520 Pasicompsa has professed herself a good wool-spinner, and Lysimachus now promises to give her a sheep of the finest sort. The reputation of Apulian wool among the Romans is established by the following passages: Varro, L. L. IX 39 (Mueller, p. 208), *Sic enim lana Gallicana et Appula videtur imperito similis propter speciem, cum peritus Appulam emat pluris, quod in usu firmior sit*. Pliny, N. H. VIII 48, 73, *Lana autem laudatissima Apula et quae in Italia Graeci pecoris* (cf. Merc. 525, *Generis graecist*, which would apply also to Apulian sheep) *appellatur, alibi Italica; tertium locum Milesiae oves optinent*. Columella, VII 2, 3, *Generis eximii Calabras Apulasque et Milesias nostri existimabant, earumque optimas Tarentinas. Nunc Gallicae pretiosiores habentur*, etc. Martial, XIV 155:

Velleribus primis Appulia, Parma secundis  
Nobilis: Altinum tertia laudat ovis.

Plautus uses *Apulia* (with one *p*, *A*) in *Casina*, Prol. 72, and *Apulus*, *Cas. Prol. 77* and *Mil. 653*, *Póst Ephesi sum ndtus, noenum in Áputis, noenum Áminulae*. This passage shows that *Apulia* in Plautus' time was, to a certain extent, Hellenized, although its Greek was not of the purest (cf. Kiepert, *Alte Geographie*, p. 450). As for the palaeography, the change from *apulam* to *ancillam* is not so difficult as it may seem at first sight; cf. *Men. 801*,

Quándo te auratam ét vestitam béne habet, ancillás penum

*anpillaspen* B; *anpilla spen* CD; *ampulla spem* Z; *ampulosam* 'prisca exemplaria' Pii. Consequently by a reverse process it is easy to pass from *Apulam*, *Ápulam*, to *Anpillam* and then to *Ancillam*. In Nonius Marcellus (p. 480, l. 11, M) we actually find in the MSS *Ampolam* for *Apuliam*. It deserves to be noticed also that *ancilla* is of frequent occurrence in the Mercator, cf. vv. 201, 211, 261, 350, 390, 396, 414, 975, so that the emendation of *anpillam* to *ancillam* was very near at hand. In fact, in two other passages

the scribe of B has written *ancilla* where it does not belong, in v. 240, *ut una illec* (*illeg* D) *capra* CD; *ut una ancilla et una capra* B; v. 399, *Horunc illa* CD with A; *horum ancilla* B. Again, we may suppose that the scribe of B found in his exemplar *tibiā illā*, the *p* having fallen out. In this case, too, he would most likely have corrected to *tibi ancillā*. In any event *Apulam* seems to have at least as strong a claim to be the original reading as any of the emendations already proposed.

MINTON WARREN.

# V.—LIST OF IRREGULAR (STRONG) VERBS IN BÉOWULF.<sup>1</sup>

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pres.</i>
1 <i>āgan</i> (1089)	<i>āh</i> (1728) neg. form <i>nāh</i> (2253)	<i>āhte</i> (487)	
2 <i>ge-belgan</i>		<i>gebulge</i> (sub. pt.) (2332)	<i>gebolgen</i> (1540)
3 <i>ā-belgan</i>		<i>ābealh</i> (2281)	<i>ābolgen</i> (724)
4 <i>beran</i> (48)	<i>byreð</i> (2056)	<i>bær</i> (495) <i>bæron</i> (213) <i>æt bær</i> (519) <i>æt bæron</i> (28)	<i>boren</i> (1193)
5 <i>æt-beran</i> (1562)			
6 <i>for-beran</i> (1878)			
7 <i>ge-beran</i>			<i>geboren</i> (1704)
8 <i>ðð-beran</i>		<i>oðbær</i> (579)	
9 <i>on-beran</i> (991)			<i>onboren</i> (2285)
10 <i>berstan</i>		<i>burston</i> (819, 761)	
11 <i>for-berstan</i>		<i>for-bærst</i> (2681)	
12 <i>beorgan</i> (1294)		<i>burgan</i> (2600)	
13 <i>be-beorgan</i> (1747)			
14 <i>ge-beorgan</i>		<i>ge-bearg</i> (1549)	
15 <i>ymb-beorgan</i>		<i>ymb-bearg</i> (1504)	
16 <i>beornan</i>	(part. pres. <i>byrnende</i> , 2273)		
17 <i>for-beornan</i>		<i>for-born</i> (2673) <i>for-barn</i> (1617) <i>ge-barn</i> (2698)	
18 <i>ge-beornan</i>		<i>budon</i> (1086)	<i>boden</i> (2958)
19 <i>béodan</i> (385) } <i>bíodan</i> (2893) }			
20 <i>ā-béodan</i>		<i>ā-béad</i> (390)	
21 <i>be-béodan</i>		<i>be-béad</i> (401)	
22 <i>ge-béodan</i> (3111)		<i>ge-béad</i> (2370)	

<sup>1</sup> The list embraces also the anomalous verbs, and a few of the more irregular weak verbs, which are marked in the list by a star (\*). The references are to the compiler's edition. The compounds have a special value as filling out the defective simples. It was thought sufficient to give one reference only for each form.

LIST OF IRREGULAR (STRONG) VERBS IN *BÉOWULF*. 463

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>
23 <i>béon</i>	<i>béo</i> (1826), <i>bið</i> (183) pl. <i>bioð</i> (2064) <i>béoð</i> (1839) (see <i>wesan</i> ) imper. <i>béo</i> (1174)		
24 <i>biddan</i> (427)	<i>bidde</i> (1232)	<i>bæd</i> (29) <i>bædon</i> (176)	
25 <i>bindan</i>			<i>bunden</i> (1286)
26 <i>ge-bindan</i>		<i>ge-band</i> (420)	<i>ge-bunden</i> (872)
27 <i>on-bindan</i>		<i>on-band</i> (501)	
28 <i>bidan</i> (2309)		<i>bâd</i> (87) <i>bidon</i> (400)	
29 <i>â-bidan</i> (978)			
30 <i>ge-bidan</i> (639)		<i>ge-bâd</i> (7)	<i>gebiden</i> (1929)
31 <i>on-bidan</i>		<i>on-bâd</i> (2303)	
32 <i>bitan</i> (1455)		<i>bât</i> (743)	
33 <i>blīcan</i> (222)			
34 <i>brecan</i> (2547)		<i>bræc</i> (1568)	<i>brocen</i> (2064)
35 <i>ge-brecan</i>		<i>ge-bræc</i> (2509)	
36 <i>tô-brecan</i> (781)			<i>tô-brocen</i> (998)
37 <i>purh-brecan</i>		<i>purh-bræc</i> (2793)	
38 <i>bregdan</i> (708)		<i>brægd</i> (795) <i>brugdon</i> (514)	<i>broden</i> <i>brogden</i> (1617)
39 <i>â-bregdan</i>		<i>â-bræd</i> (2576)	
40 <i>ge-bregdan</i>		<i>ge-brægd</i> (1565)	<i>ge-broden</i> (1444)
41 <i>on-bregdan</i>		<i>ge-bræd</i> (1665) <i>on-bræd</i> (724)	
42 <i>â-bréatan</i>		<i>â-bréot</i> (2931)	
43 <i>bréotan</i>		<i>bréat</i> (1714)	
44 <i>â-bréotan</i>		<i>â-bréat</i> (1299)	<i>â-broten</i> (1600)
45 <i>*bringan</i> (1863)	<i>bringe</i> (1830)	<i>brôhton</i> (1654)	
46 <i>ge-bringan</i>	(pres. subj. pl.) <i>gebringan</i> (3010)		
47 <i>brūcan</i> (1046)	<i>brūceð</i> (1063)	<i>bréac</i> (1954)	
48 <i>būan</i> (2843)			
49 <i>ge-būan</i>	(pres. part. <i>būend</i> )		<i>gebūn</i> (117)
50 <i>būgan</i> (2919)	<i>būgeð</i> (2032)	<i>béah</i> (2957) <i>bugon</i> (327) <i>â-béag</i> (776)	
51 <i>â-būgan</i>			
52 <i>be-būgan</i>	<i>be-būgeð</i> (93)		

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Prt.</i>
53 ge-bûgan		ge-béah (1541) ge-béag (1242)	ge-bogen (2570)
54 *bycgan (1306)			
55 *be-bycgan		be-bohte (2800)	
56 *ge-bycgan		ge-bohte (974)	[ge-boh-]te(3015)
57 be-ceorfan		be-cearf (1592)	
58 céosan } cíosan (2377) }		cure (subj. pret.) (2819)	
59 ge-céosan		ge-céas (2639)	gecoron(e) (206)
60 ge-cnâwan (2048)			
61 on-cnâwan		on-cnîow (2555)	
62 cringan		cringon (1114) crunge (subj. pret.) (636)	
63 ge-cringan		ge-cranc (1210) ge-crang (1338) ge-crong (1569)	
64 cuman (244)	cymest (1383) cymeð (2059)	com (430) cwom (419) cwômon (239) cwôman (651)	cumen (376)
65 be-cuman		be-com (115) be-cwom (2366)	
66 ofer-cuman		ofer-cwom (1274) ofer-cômon (700)	ofercumen (846)
67 cunnan	(1) can (1181) (2) const (1378) (3) con (1740) cunnon (162)	cûðe (372) cûðon (119)	cûð (150) un-cûð (2215)
68 cweðan	cwið (2042)	cwæð (315) cwædon (3182)	
69 â-cweðan	â-cwyð (2047)	â-cwæð (655)	
70 ge-cweðan		(2) ge-cwæde (2665) (3) ge-cwæð (875) ge-cwædon (535)	
71 cwîðan (2113)			
72 déagan		déog (851)	
73 dôn (1117)	dêð (1059)	dyde (672) dydon (3165)	
74 ge-dôn (2187)	ge-dêð (1733)		



LIST OF IRREGULAR (STRONG) VERBS IN *BÉOWULF*. 465

<i>Pret.</i>	<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>
(2570)	75 on-drædan (1675)		on-drêd (2348)	
	76 drepan		dræp (2881)	drepen (1746) dropen (2982)
	77 dréogan (1471)		dréah (2180) drugon (15)	
(3015)	78 ā-dréogan (3079)			
	79 ge-dréogan			gedrogen (2727)
	80 ge-dréosan (2667)	ge-dréoseð (1755)		
(206)	81 drincan		dranc (743) druncon (1234)	druncen (539)
	82 drifan (1131)	drifað (2809)		
	83 tô-drifan		tô-drâf (545)	
	84 dugan	déah (369) duge (sub. pr., 590)	dohte (1345) dohtest (1822)	
	85 durran	dearst (527) dear (685) dyrre (subj. pr., 1380)	dorste (1463) dorston (2849)	
	86 ge-dûfan		ge-déaf (2701)	
	87 þurh-dûfan		þurh-déaf (1620)	
	88 etan (444)	eteð (448)		
	89 þurh-etan			þurh-eton(e) (3050)
	90 faran (124)		fôr (1405) fôron (1896)	
(846)	91 ge-faran (739)			
	92 út-faran (2552)			
	93 felgan		fealh (1282)	
(5)	94 æt-felgan		æt-fealh (969)	
	95 feallan (1071)		féol (773) féoll (2976) féollon (1043)	
	96 be-feallan			be-feallen (1127)
	97 ge-feallan	ge-fealleð (1756)	ge-féoll (2101)	
	98 ge-feohan } ge-féon }		ge-feah (109) ge-feh (2299) ge-fægon (1015) ge-fêgon (1628)	
	99 ge-feohtan (1084)			
	100 findan (207)		fand (720) fond (2137) (1) funde (1487) fundon (3054)	funden (7)

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>
101 on-findan		on-fand (1892) on-funde (751)	on-funden (1294)
102 fléogan	fléogeð (2274)		
103 fléon (756)		fléah (2226)	
104 be-fléon (tô be-fléonne, 1004)			
105 ofer-fléon (2526)			
106 fléotan (542)		fléat (1910)	
107 flitan		(2) flite (507)	
108 ofer-flitan		ofer-flât (517)	
109 fôn (439)	fêhð (1756)	fêng (1543)	
110 be-fôn			be-fongen (977) be-fangen (1296)
111 ge-fôn		ge-fêng (741)	
112 on-fôn (912)		on-fêng (52)	
113 þurh-fôn (1505)			
114 wið-fôn		wið-fêng (761)	
115 ymbe-fôn		ymbe-fêng (2692)	
116 fretan (3015)		fræt (1582)	
117 frignan fringan (351) frinan	frin (imper., 1323)	frægn (236)	
118 ge-frignan ge-fringan ge-frinan		ge-frægn (194) ge-frægen (1012) ge-frunon (2) ge-frungon (667)	ge-frunen (2953) ge-frægen (1197)
119 galan (787)	gæleð (2461)		
120 â-galan		â-gôl (1522)	
121 gân (386) gangan (314) gongan (1643)	gæð (455) imper. { gân (1783) geong (2744)	géong (926) gíong (2410) gang (1010) *gengde (1413, 1402) *eode (358) eodon (493)	
122 â-gangan			â-gangen (1235)
123 full-gangan		full-eode (3120)	
124 ge-gân (1278) ge-gangan (2537)	ge-gangeð (1847)	ge-iode (2201) ge-eode (2677) ge-eodon (1968) ôð-eodon (2935) ofer-eode (1409) ofer-eodon (2960)	ge-gân (2631) ge-gongen (823)
125 ôð-gangan			
126 ofer-gangan			

LIST OF IRREGULAR (STRONG) VERBS IN *BÉOWULF*. 467

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>
127 ymb-gangan		ymb-eode (621)	
128 gifan		geaf (1720)	gyfen (64)
gíofan (2973) }		geâfon (49)	
129 â-gífan (355)		â-geaf (2930)	
130 for-gyfan		for-geaf (17)	
131 of-gífan		of-geaf (2470)	
of-gýfan (2589) }		of-geâfon (1601)	
		of-gêfan (2847)	
132 gildan		geald (1048)	
gyldan (11) }			
133 an-gildan		an-geald (1252)	
134 â-gildan		â-geald (1665)	
135 for-gildan		for-geald (114)	
for-gýldan (1055) }			
136 gilpan		gealp (2584)	
gylpan (2007) }	gilpe		
	gylpeð		
137 on-ginnan		on-gan (100)	on-gunnen (409)
		on-gon (2791)	
		on-gunnon (245)	
138 be-gitan		be-geat (1147)	
		be-get (2873)	
		be-geâton (2250)	
139 for-gitan	for-gyteð (1752)		
140 an-gitan		an-geat (1292)	
on-gitan (1912) }		on-geat (14)	
on-gýtan (1497) }		on-geâton (1432)	
141 glidan		glâd (2074)	
		glidan (515)	
142 tô-glidan		tô-glâd (2488)	
143 gréotan	gréoteð (1343)		
144 for-grindan		for-grand (424)	for-grunden (2336)
145 grípan		grâp (1502)	
146 for-grípan		for-grâp (2354)	
147 wið-grípan (2522)			
148 grôwan		gréow (1719)	
149 *habban (446)	hæbbe (383)	hæfde (79)	
	hafu (2525)	hæfdon (538)	
	hafast (1175)		
	hafað (474)		
	habbað (270)		
	imper. hafa (659)		

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pres.</i>
150 *for-habban (1152)			
151 *wið-habban		wið-hæfde (773)	
152 hâtan (68)	hâte (293)	hêht (1036) hêt (198)	hâten (992)
153 ge-hâtan	ge-hâte (1393)	ge-hêt (2135) ge-hêton (175)	ge-hâten (2025)
154 hebban (657)			hafen (1291) hæfen (3024)
155 â-hebban			â-hæfen (1109) â-hafen (128) be-holen (414)
156 be-helan			
157 helpan (2341)		healp (2699)	
158 healdan (230)	healdest (1706) healdeð (2910)	hiold (1955) héold (2378) héoldon (2720) be-héold (494)	
159 be-healdan			
160 for-healdan			for-healden (2382)
161 ge-healdan (2857)	ge-healdeð (2294)	ge-héold (2621)	
162 ge-héawan	ge-héawe (subj. pres., 683)		
163 héofan	híofende (pres. part., 3143)		
164 hladan (2127)			hladen (3135) (gilp)-hlæden (869)
165 ge-hladan		ge-hlôd (896)	
166 â-hlehhan		â-hlôg (731)	
167 hléapan (865)			
168 â-hléapan		â-hléop (1398)	
169 hléotan		hléat (2386)	
170 tô-hlidan			tô-hliden(e) (1000)
171 hnitan		hniton (1328)	
172 be-hôn			be-hongen (3140)
173 hréoðan			hroden (495)
174 ge-hréoðan			ge-hroden (304)
175 hréosan		hréas (2489) hruon (1075)	
176 be-hréosan			be-hroren(e) (2763)

LIST OF IRREGULAR (STRONG) VERBS IN *BÊOWULF*. 469

	<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>
	177 hrînan (989)		hrân (2271)	
	178 hweorfan (2889) }		hwearf (55)	
	hworfan (1729) }		hwurfe (subj. pt., 264)	
025)	179 and-hweorfan		and-hwearf (548)	
	180 æt-hweorfan		æt-hwearf (2300)	
)	181 ge-hweorfan		ge-hwearf (1211)	
)	182 geond-hweorfan		geond-hwearf (2018)	
09)	183 hwôpan		hwéop (2269)	
)	184 *hycgan		hogode (633)	
4)	185 be-irnan (rinnan)		be-arn (67)	
	186 on-irnan		on-arn (722)	
	187 lâcan (2849)			
	188 for-lâcan			for-lâcen (904)
	189 lætan	læteð (1729)	lêt (2390) lêton (48)	
	190 â-lætan (2592)			
	191 for-lætan (793)		for-lêt (971) for-lêton (3168)	
	192 of-lætan	of-lætest (1184)	of-lêt (1623)	
	193 on-lætan	on-læteð (1610)		
	194 *â-lecgan		â-legde (835) â-lêdon (34) â-legdon (3142)	
	195 leahan }	lyhð (1049)	lôg (1812) lôgon (203)	
	léan }			
	196 be-léan (511)			
	197 léogan		léah (3030)	
	198 â-léogan		â-lêh (80)	
	199 ge-léogan		ge-léah (2324)	
	200 be-léosan			be-loren (1074)
	201 for-léosan		for-léas (1471)	for-loren (2146)
	202 *libban	lifað (3169)	lifde (57)	
40)		lyfað (945)	lyfde (2145)	
		leofað (975)	lifdon (99)	
4)	203 licgan (3130) }	ligeð (1344)	læg (40)	
	licgean (967) }		lâgon (3049) lægon (566)	
	204 â-licgan (2887)		â-læg (1529)	
	205 ge-licgan		ge-læg (3147)	



<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>	
206 limpan		lomp (1988)		233
207 â-limpan		â-lamp (623)	â-lumpen (734)	234
208 be-limpan		be-lamp (2469)		
209 ge-limpan	ge-limpeð (1754)	ge-lomp (76)	ge-lumpen (825)	235
		ge-lamp (1253)		
210 linnan (1479)				236
211 liðan			liden (223)	
212 lihan		lâh (1457)		237
213 on-lihan		on-lâh (1468)		238
214 lâcan			locen(e) (1506)	239
215 be-lâcan		be-léac (1133)		240
216 ge-lâcan			ge-locen (2770)	
217 on-lâcan		on-léac (259)		241
218 tô-lâcan (782)				242
219 magan	(1) mæg (277)	meahte (542)		243
	(2) meaht (2048)	mihte (190)		
	mæge(2531) } subj. pr.	mehte (1083)		244
	mægen(2654) }	mehton (649)		245
		mihton (308)		246
220 meltan (3012)		mealt (2327)		247
		multon (1121)		
221 ge-meltan		ge-mealt (898)		248
222 metan		mæton (918)		249
223 ge-metan		ge-mæt (925)		250
224 môtan	(1),(3) môt (186, 604)	môste (168)		251
	(2) môst (1672)	môston (1629)		
	môton (347)			252
	môte (1388, pres. subj.)			253
225 ge-munan	ge-man (265)	ge-munde (759)		
	ge-mon (2428)	ge-mundon (179)		254
226 on-munan		on-munde (2641)		
227 murnan		mearn (136)		255
		murne(subj.pt., 1386)		256
228 be-murnan } be-meornan }		be-mearn (908)		257
229 ge-nesan		ge-næs (1000)	ge-nesen (2398)	258
230 néotan	néot (imper., 1218)			259
231 be-néotan (681)		bi-néat (2397)		
232 niman	nimeð (441)	nom (1613)	numen (1154)	260
	nymeð (1847)	nam (747)		261
		nâman (2117)		262

LIST OF IRREGULAR (STRONG) VERBS IN *BÉOWULF*. 471

<i>ret.</i>	<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>
	233 be-niman		be-nam (1887)	
734)	234 for-niman		for-nam (557)	
			for-nâmon (2829)	
(825)	235 ge-niman		ge-nam (1873)	ge-numen (3167)
			ge-nom (2777)	
	236 nîpan	pres. part. nîpende (547)		
	237 rædan (2057)			
	238 be-réofan			berofen(e) (2392)
506)	239 réotan	réotað (1377)		
	240 ridan (234)		râd (1884)	
770)			riodan (3171)	
	241 ge-ridan		ge-râd (2899)	
	242 â-risan		â-râs (399)	
	243 rôwan		réon (réowon) (512)	
	244 sacan (439)			
	245 ge-sacan (1005)			
	246 on-sacan (2955)	on-sæce (subj.pr., 1943)		
	247 scacan (1804) } sceacan }	sceaceð (2743)	scôc (2255)	scacen (1125) sceacen (2307)
	248 ge-scâdan		ge-scêd (1556)	
	249 scânan		scíonon (303)	
	250 sceran	scireð (1288)		
	251 ge-sceran		ge-scær (1527)	
			ge-scer (2974)	
	252 sceaðan		scôd (1888)	
	253 ge-sceaðan		ge-scôd (1588)	
			ge-scéod (2224)	
	254 sceopan } sceppan } scyppan }		scôp (78)	scepen (2915)
	255 ge-sceopan		ge-sceôp (97)	
	256 scéotan	scéoteð (1745)		
	257 ge-scéotan		ge-scéat (2320)	
8)	258 of-scéotan		• of-scêt (2440)	
	259 scinan (1518)	scîneð (607)	scân (321)	
			scinon (995)	
			scionon (303)	
	260 scriðan (651)	scriðað (163)		
	261 scrifan (980)			
	262 for-scrifan			for-scrifen (106)

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>
263 ge-scrīfan		ge-scrāf (2575)	
264 sculan	sceall (2499)	scolde (10)	
	(1, 3) sceal (20, 251)	sceolde (2342)	
	scel (455)	sceoldest (2342)	
	(2) scealt (589)	scoldon (41)	
	sculon (684)		
	scile (3178) } (subj.)		
	scyle (2658) }		
265 scūfan		scufon (215)	scofen (919)
		scufun (3132)	
266 be-scūfan (184)			
267 *secgan (273)	secge (1998)	sægde (1810)	(ge)-sægd (141)
	secgað (411)	sægdest (532)	(ge)-sæd (1697)
		sægdon (377)	
		sædan (1946)	
268 *sellan } syllan (2161) }	seleð (1731)	sealde (72)	
		sealdest (1483)	
		sealdon (1162)	
269 *sêcan (665) } sêcean (200) }	sêceð (2273)	sôhte (2301)	(ge)-soht(e)
	sêceað (3002)	sôhtest (458)	(1840)
	imper. sêc (1380)	sôhton (339)	
		sohtan (2381)	
270 séoðan		séað (1994)	
271 séon (921)		seah (2015)	
		sægon (1423)	
272 ge-séon (396)	ge-syhð (2042)	ge-seah (247)	
		ge-sâwon (1606)	
		ge-sêgan (3039)	
		ge-sêgon (3129)	
273 geond-séon		geond-seh (3088)	
274 ofer-séon		ofer-sâwon (419)	
275 on-séon		on-sâwon (1651)	
276 singan		song (323)	
		sang (496)	
277 â-singan			â-sungen (1160)
278 sittan (493)	siteð (2907) * imper. site (489)	sæt (500)	
		sæton (1165)	
		sêtan (1603)	
		be-sæt (2937)	
279 be-sittan		ge-sæt (171)	ge-seten (2105)
280 for-sittan	for-siteð (1768)	of-sæt (1546)	
281 ge-sittan			
282 of-sittan			

LIST OF IRREGULAR (STRONG) VERBS IN *BÉOWULF*. 473

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>
283 ofer-sittan (685)	ofer-sitte (2529)		
284 on-sittan (598)			
285 ymb-sittan		ymb-sæton (564)	
286 sigan		sigon (307)	
287 ge-sigan (2660)			
288 slæpan	slæpend(e) (pr. part., 2220)		
289 sleahan } sleân }		slôh (1566) slôg (108) slôgon (2051) ge-slôh (459) ge-slôgan (2997) of-slôh (574) slât (742) on-spéon (2724)	slægen (1153)
290 ge-sléan			
291 of-sléan			
292 slitan			
293 on-spannan			
294 spiwan (2313)			
295 spôwan		spéow (2855)	
296 spreca (2070)		spræc (1169) spræce (531) spræcon (1477) ge-spræc (676) sprang (18) sprong (1589) sprungon (2583) ge-sprang (1668) ge-sprong (885) on-sprungon (818)	sprecen (644)
297 ge-spreca			
298 springan			
299 ge-springan			
300 on-springan			
301 standan (2272) }	standeð (1363)	stôd (927)	
302 stonda (2761) }	(pl.) standað (2867)	stôdon (328) stôdan (3048) â-stôd (760) æt-stôd (892) for-stôd (1550) ge-stôd (358) ge-stôdon (2597) stôp (762) æt-stôp (746) ge-stôp (2290) stonc (2289) [st]âg (2363) stigon (212)	
303 â-standan			
304 æt-standan			
305 for-standan (2956)			
306 ge-standan			
307 stapan			
308 æt-stapan			
309 ge-stapan			
310 stincan			
311 stigan			

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>
312 â-stigan	â-stigeð (1374)	â-stâh (1119)	
313 ge-stigan		â-stâg (783)	
314 strûdan		ge-stâh (633)	
		strude (subj. pret., 3127)	
315 for-swâfan		for-swéof (2815)	
316 for-swâpan		for-swéop (477)	
317 *swebban (680)	swefeð (601)		
318 *â-swebban			â-swefede (567)
319 swefan (119)	swefeð (1742)	swæf. (1801)	
	swefað (2257)	swæfon (704)	
		swæfun (1281)	
320 swelgan		swealh (744)	
		swulge (sub. pret., 783)	
321 for-swelgan		for-swealg (1123)	
322 swellan (2714)			
323 sweltan		swealt (1618)	
324 swerian		swôr (2739)	
325 for-swerian			for-sworen (805)
326 sweorcan	sweorceð (1738)		
327 for-sweorcan	for-sworceð (1768)		
328 ge-sweorcan		ge-swearc (1790)	
329 swymman (1625)			
330 ofer-swimman		ofer-swam (2368)	
331 swincan		swuncon (517)	
332 swingan	swingeð (2265)		
333 swican		swâc (1461)	
334 ge-swican		ge-swâc (2585)	
335 on-swîfan		on-swâf (2560)	
336 swôgan	(pres. part., 3146) swôgende		
337 *syrwan		syrede (161)	
338 *ge-tæcan		ge-tæhte (313)	
339 *tellan		tealde (795)	
		tealdon (2185)	
340 téon (1037)		téah (553)	togen (1289)
341 â-téon		â-téah (767)	
342 ge-téon	imper. ge-téoh (366)	ge-téah (2611)	
343 of-téon		of-téab (5)	



LIST OF IRREGULAR (STRONG) VERBS IN *BÉOWULF*. 475

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>
344 <i>purh-téon</i> (1141)			
345 <i>tredan</i> (1965)		<i>træd</i> (1644)	
346 * <i>þencan</i>	<i>þenceð</i> (289)	<i>þôhte</i> (692)	
		<i>þôhton</i> (541)	
347 <i>þéon</i> (for <i>þīhan</i> )		<i>þāh</i> (8)	
348 <i>ge-þéon</i> (25)			
349 <i>on-þéon</i>		<i>on-þāh</i> (901)	
350 <i>þicgan</i> (1011) }		<i>þêgon</i> (563)	
351 <i>þicgean</i> (737) }		<i>þêgun</i> (2634)	
352 <i>ge-þicgan</i>		<i>ge-þeah</i> (619)	
		<i>ge-þah</i> (1025)	
		<i>ge-þægon</i> (1015)	<i>ge-þungen</i> (625)
353 <i>þringan</i>		<i>þrong</i> (2884)	
		<i>þrungon</i> (2961)	
354 <i>for-þringan</i> (1085)			
355 <i>ge-þringan</i>		<i>ge-þrang</i> (1913)	
356 <i>þurfan</i>	(2) <i>þearft</i> (450)	<i>þorfte</i> (157)	
	<i>þearf</i> (596)	<i>þorfton</i> (2365)	
	<i>þurfe</i> (subj. pres., 2496)		
357 <i>ge-þweran</i>			<i>ge-þuren</i> (for <i>ge-þworen</i> (1286))
358 * <i>þyncan</i> }	<i>þinceð</i> (1749)	<i>þūhte</i> (2462)	
359 <i>þincean</i> (1342) }	<i>þynceð</i> (2654)	<i>þūhton</i> (867)	
	<i>þinceað</i> (368)		
360 <i>unnan</i>	<i>an</i> (1226)	<i>ūðe</i> (961)	
361 <i>ge-unnan</i> (346)		<i>ge-ūðe</i> (1662)	
362 <i>wacan</i>		<i>wôc</i> (1266)	
		<i>wôcun</i> (60)	
		<i>on-wôc</i> (2288)	
		<i>on-wôcon</i> (1111)	
		<i>wôd</i> (2662)	
363 <i>wadan</i>			<i>ge-waden</i> (220)
364 <i>ge-wadan</i>		<i>on-wôd</i> (?) (916)	
365 <i>on-wadan</i>		<i>purh-wôd</i> (891)	
366 <i>purh-wadan</i>		<i>wæg</i> (1208)	
367 <i>wegan</i> (3016)		<i>æt-wæg</i> (1199)	
368 <i>æt-wegan</i>			
369 <i>ge-wegan</i> (2401)			

<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>
370 <i>wesan</i> (272) (see <i>béon</i> )	<i>eom</i> (335) <i>eart</i> (352) <i>is</i> (256) <i>ys</i> (2911) (1) <i>synt</i> (260) (2) <i>syndon</i> (237) (3) <i>sint</i> (388) subj. pres. <i>sie</i> (435) <i>sý</i> (1832) <i>sig</i> (1779) pres. part. <i>wesende</i> (46) imper. <i>wes</i> (269)	<i>wæs</i> (11) <i>wære</i> (1479) <i>wæron</i> (233) <i>wæran</i> (2476)	
371 <i>wēpan</i>		[ <i>wéop</i> ] (3152?)	
372 <i>wealdan</i> (442)	<i>wealde</i> (1860)	<i>wéold</i> (465) <i>wéoldon</i> (2052)	
373 <i>ge-wealdan</i> (1510)		<i>ge-wéold</i> (1555)	<i>ge-wealden(e)</i> (1733)
374 <i>weallan</i>	pl. <i>weallað</i> (2066)	<i>wéol</i> (515) <i>wéoll</i> (2139)	
375 <i>weaxan</i> (3116)	<i>weaxeð</i> (1742)	<i>weðx</i> (8)	
376 <i>ge-weaxan</i>		<i>ge-weðx</i> (66)	
377 <i>weorðan</i> (3179) } <i>wurðan</i> (808) }	<i>weorðeð</i> (414) (pl.) <i>weorðað</i> (2067) <i>wurðað</i> (282)	<i>wearð</i> (6) <i>wurdon</i> (228) <i>wurde</i> (subj. pret., 2732)	
378 <i>ge-weorðan</i> (1997)		<i>ge-wearð</i> (3062)	<i>ge-worden</i> (1305)
379 <i>weorpan</i> (2792)		<i>wearp</i> (1532)	
380 <i>for-weorpan</i>		<i>for-wurpe</i> (subj. pret., 2873)	
381 <i>ofer-weorpan</i>		<i>ofer-wearp</i> (1544)	
382 <i>willan</i>	(1) { <i>wille</i> (344) <i>wylle</i> (948) (2) <i>wylt</i> (1853) (3) { <i>wile</i> (346) <i>wyle</i> (2865) <i>wille</i> (442) <i>wylle</i> (2767) (pl.) <i>wyllað</i> (1819)	<i>wolde</i> (68) <i>woldon</i> (482)  neg. forms: <i>nelle</i> (680) <i>noide</i> (792)	
383 <i>windan</i>		<i>wand</i> (1120) <i>wundon</i> (212)	<i>wunden</i> (1194)

LIST OF IRREGULAR (STRONG) VERBS IN *BÉOWULF*. 477

<i>Pret.</i>	<i>Infinitive.</i>	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Preterite.</i>	<i>Part. Pret.</i>
384	æt-windan		æt-wand (143)	
385	be-windan		be-wand (1462)	be-wunden (1032)
386	ge-windan (764)		ge-wand (1002)	
387	on-windan	on-windeð (1611)		
388	winnan		wan (144)	
			won (1133)	
			wunne (506)	
			wunnon (113)	
389	witan (252)	wât (1332)	wiste (822)	
		wâst (272)	wisse (2340)	
		neg. form: nât (274)	wiston (799)	
			wisson (246)	
390	ge-witan (1351)			
391	ge-wican		ge-wâc (2578)	
392	wigan (2510)	wîgeð (600)		
393	witan (2742)			
394	æt-witan		æt-witon (1151)	
395	ge-witan (42)	ge-witeð (1361)	ge-wât (123)	ge-witen (1480)
			ge-witon (854)	
396	ðð-witan (2996)			
397	wlitan		wlât (1573)	
			wlitan (1593)	
			wlitan (2853)	
398	geond-wlitan } giond-wlitan (2772) }			
399	wrecan (874)		wræc (2707)	wrecen (2963)
400	â-wrecan		â-wræc (1725)	
401	for-wrecan (1920)		for-wræc (109)	
402	ge-wrecan		ge-wræc (107)	ge-wrecen (3063)
			ge-wræcan (2480)	
403	wriðan (965)		wriðon (2983)	ge-wriðen(e) (1938)
404	writan			writen (1689)
405	for-writan		for-wrât (2706)	
406	*wyrca (931)		worhte (1453)	(ge-)worht(e) (1865)

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## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

A History of English Rhythms. By EDWIN GUEST, LL. D., D. C. L., F. R. S.  
A new edition, edited by the REV. WALTER W. SKEAT, M. A. London,  
George Bell & Sons, 1882.

The late Dr. Guest's History of English Rhythms was first published in 1838, and was a pioneer in a new field. It is not much to the credit of English scholars that but little was done for the further elucidation of this subject until the publication of Professor Schipper's work on Old English Metre, early in 1882. Professor Skeat seems to have prepared this new edition of Dr. Guest's work before the publication of Prof. Schipper's, as he nowhere makes allusion to it, although the respective prefaces are dated Sept., 1881, and July, 1882.<sup>1</sup> Schipper's work has already been noticed in this Journal (Vol. III, No. 11, p. 355), and it now remains to give a brief account of Dr. Guest's work, as the first edition has been long out of print, and a new generation of scholars has grown up, many of them born since its publication. Schipper (p. 2) makes the following criticism of this work: "Dr. Guest macht die älteste Form englischer Poesie, nämlich die alliterierende Langzeile, oder vielmehr die rhythmische Section derselben, wie er sich ausdrückt, zur Basis auch der späteren unter ganz anderen Einflüssen sich entwickelnden englischen Verskunst und zieht aus dieser Voraussetzung dann natürlich ganz falsche Schlüsse. Eine weitere Folge davon ist, dass es so verworren angelegt und durchgeführt ist, dass man sich nur mit grosser Mühe, selbst wenn man von seinem Gedankengange sich leiten lässt, hindurchfinden kann, und so ist denn das Werk, trotz der grossen Fülle von Material, die es bietet, als *gänzlich veraltet und unbrauchbar* zu bezeichnen," and he refers, in confirmation of this criticism, to Prof. Mayor's article in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1873-74. Prof. Skeat has remedied some of the defects of form chargeable to the first edition, in that he has incorporated in the text the notes of that edition, has added notes of his own explaining or correcting statements in the text, has revised the quotations and supplied exact references, and has added an index of authors and a table of rhythms, so that the work is not so unserviceable as formerly. The quotations, however, so far from being "well arranged," as Mr. Skeat says, should have been arranged *historically*, so that we should not find a quotation from Chaucer immediately following one from Burns. Moreover, I do not think that most persons will agree with Mr. Skeat in his preference for the author's method of marking accentuation, namely, with a bar [ | ] after the accented syllable, so liable to be confounded with metrical division (as Mr. Swifte did confound it),—but this is a small matter.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Skeat mentions Schipper's work in his introduction to Specimens of Early English, Part I, p. xxxvi, which was published before July, 1882, hence the lack of reference to it in his preface to Dr. Guest's work is the more noticeable.

Instead of simply referring to Ellis and Sweet, Mr. Skeat might have corrected some of Dr. Guest's statements with respect to the values of the English letters; for, however excusable these statements might have been in 1838, they were not so excusable in 1882. It may suffice to refer to the remarks about *y*, and especially to the remark (p. 8 *ad init.*): "but if the *y* of *your* be a consonant, so must also be the *e* of *Europe*," and to the so-called diphthongs "formed by prefixing *y* to the eleven vowels" (p. 11); one might as well speak of the Latin vowel *j* in *jam* or the German vowel *j* in *ja*: Mr. Skeat's note is not helpful on this point. See also the remarks on *w* and *wh* (pp. 9, 10); and as to Mr. Skeat's correction of Dr. Guest's pronunciation of *a* in *Mary* as *a* in *ate*, I would say that this is the almost universal pronunciation in this country, and not as *ai* in *hair*, with Mr. Skeat; again, with respect to the diphthongal character claimed for this sound of *a*, is not that caused by the following *r* in *hair* or *hare*, and when not followed by *r*, is it not a simple vowel as in *glad* (A. S. *glæd*)? See here Sweet's A. S. Reader (p. xvii), where *there* and *hair* are given as key-words for the *long* sound of this vowel [æ] and *man* for the *short* sound. One other letter unnoticed by Mr. Skeat may be mentioned: on p. 65 Dr. Guest speaks of "the *dental* letters *f* and *th*,"—no misprint, as the examples show.

The work is divided into four books, of from seven to ten chapters each. Book I treats of rhythm, the voice, *i. e.* letters and sounds, syllables, accent, quantity, rime, and pauses, so that it is introductory to the whole subject. One great merit of the work consists in the numerous examples given in illustration of each statement, but in the case of our older writers, as Chaucer, for example, better editions have been published of late years, so that the text often needs correction. So too, thanks to Prof. Child, we now know much more about Chaucer's grammar than Dr. Guest knew fifty years ago, and therefore much of what he says about the final *e* is antiquated, but he deserves credit for having rightly appreciated its importance to a correct understanding of Chaucer's verse. On this subject (p. 30) Prof. Skeat refers to "note in the appendix," but unfortunately there is no note there. (It would have been a convenience if a reference had always been given on the page where each note applies.) In his note to p. 31 Mr. Skeat has settled the question as to "Saint Eloy," if it required a re-settlement, notwithstanding Mr. Furnivall's theory. We might allow even the "dainty" prioress so mild an oath. Dr. Guest is careful to notice all cases of elision of vowels in connection with each letter, but Mr. Skeat says: "the very strict views upon the subject of elision which were laid down in the first volume seem to have been considerably relaxed in other passages of the work" (p. vii). The subject of *accent* is too wide to enter upon in a brief review; suffice it to say that Dr. Guest believed it to be "the *sole* principle" that regulates our English rhythms (p. 108), and that we have no metrical quantity in the English language. He thus at once cast aside notions derived from the classical rhythms, and established "the *sole* principle" of English metre, differing from many previous writers on versification, but deserving the thanks of all English scholars. The observed prevalence of this principle doubtless led him to his later more elastic views with respect to elision, for holding strict views on this point is but an illustration of the attempt to reduce English versification to classical rules, and to restrict the freedom of move-



ment of our earlier rhythms. The classical tradition, however, is seen in his refusal to allow more than *one* unaccented syllable, or at most *two* such syllables, between each accented syllable, which causes a total misconception of Anglo-Saxon rhythm, as is seen in the next book.

Book II treats in full Dr. Guest's elaborate system of English rhythms, and after a careful perusal of it, the justness of Schipper's criticism is seen to be fully substantiated. Prof. Skeat's table is here of great assistance in following Dr. Guest's arrangement of his quotations. It would extend this notice to unreasonable length to go into a minute examination of the different classes of rhythms. There are thirty-six varieties, according to the number and position of the accented and unaccented syllables, but section I (A b A), for example, "is intended to include similar metres of *more* than three syllables, such as A b A b A," and so on *ad infinitum*, and the change of the pause, or caesura, is considered to change the character of the rhythm, so that the examples given by Mr. Skeat from L'Allegro (p. xviii), by way of illustration, are arranged as follows:

"Haste | thee nymph | : and bring | with thee | " (the bar denoting the accent), is A b A : b A b A, or 1 : 5, while "And | the milk | maid : sing | eth blithe | " is A b A b : A b A, or 1 : 1, / denoting the unaccented syllable added to 1 (A b A). The colon [:] denotes the caesural pause between the sections, which Schipper (pp. 258-9) excludes from rhythm of this kind originally, though he concedes that it entered later. He thinks that Dr. Guest's assumption of it in the earlier rhythms of four feet, as in the Owl and Nightingale, has caused him to mingle verses of different origin, which view seems justified by the examples. But the possibilities of the system may be shown in Dr. Guest's own words. He says (p. 160): "Our verses of two and three accents consist merely of the simple sections; but the verse of four accents is the representative of the short alliterative couplet, containing two sections, each of two accents. The number then of all the possible varieties is the product of eighteen multiplied into itself, or 324. In like manner the verse of six accents is composed of two sections, each containing three; and the number of possible varieties is the product of thirty-six multiplied by itself, or 1296. The possible varieties of the verse with five accents is also 1296: to wit, 648 when the first section has two accents, and the like number when it has three." He well adds: "Of this vast number, by far the larger portion has never yet been applied to the purposes of verse." (!) When one has once conceived a mechanically regular system of such prodigious scope, it would be strange indeed if, in the most regular poems, lines showing metrical license could not here and there be found which might be brought under one or other of the above-mentioned forms, so that in chapter III, on verses of four accents, lines from L'Allegro and Il Penseroso are quoted under no less than *eight* different sectional groups, and the line "The cherub Con : tem- plation" (p. 185) is treated as false rhythm, because the caesura is disregarded, or misplaced. The metre of these two poems, however, is not derived from the Anglo-Saxon alliterative line, as Dr. Guest would have us believe; but it is the riming couplet of four feet (treated by Schipper in section III, chapter 14), the verses beginning with either an accented or an unaccented syllable. In this chapter alone Dr. Guest rightly treats Anglo-Saxon rhythms, as he finds many examples of verses showing the four accents, separated by one or two unac-

cented syllables, but in the following chapters on verses of five accents, arranged according as the section of two accents precedes or follows that of three accents, his treatment of Anglo-Saxon verse is erroneous. In chapter I (p. 159) of this book he takes exception to Rask's view of the "complement," and lays down his own rules, but Rask's view was more nearly right. Prof. Skeat does not anywhere lead us to suppose that he differs from Dr. Guest, though it is scarcely possible that he should hold these antiquated views with respect to Anglo-Saxon verse. The following examples will show Dr. Guest's accentuation:

sec | ga swat | e : sith | than sun | ne up | (p. 210);  
 gif | um grow | ende | : on god | es ric | e (p. 232);  
 ne | waes her | tha giet | : nym | the heol | ster-scead | o (p. 249);  
 wes | an an | e win | ter-stun | de : thon | ne ic mid | this wer | ode (p. 268)<sup>1</sup>

On this system the regular Anglo-Saxon alliterative verse may have four, five, six, and even seven accents, and the long lines of the pseudo-Caedmon eight and nine accents (pp. 275-6). The examples of Anglo-Saxon verse are taken chiefly from Genesis and Exodus, and from the so-called Metres of Aelfred,<sup>2</sup> whose very defective rhythm will not serve as a basis for any sound conclusions. Many examples from Chaucer and Shakspeare have been corrected by Professor Skeat, and so have vitiated the conclusions of Dr. Guest drawn from them; but the accentuation of others might have been corrected; e. g.,

Vive | le roi | : as | I have bank'd | their towns | K. J. 5. 7, 104 (p. 209);  
 read "Vi | ve" and "as I |,"  
 Of | the bod | ies : and | the gret | e honour | , Knightes Tale, C. T. 993  
 (p. 211);  
 read Of the | bodi | es : and | the grete | honour | ;  
 In | his fight | inge : wer | e a wood | leon | , 1665;  
 read In his | fighting | e : were | a wood | leon | ;

I use the bar to mark the accent, not the metrical division into feet, for the sake of comparison, though the two coincide in the examples from Chaucer.

Prof. Skeat has been too sparing in his corrections of false accents, although the corrections made are almost invariably right. Dr. Guest's views have led him wrong also in respect to the metre of Layamon, and Prof. Skeat has followed him; but this metre is developed from the Anglo-Saxon alliterative line, as Schipper has shown (section III, chapter 7), though under Norman-French influence, and it is therefore much freer in its movement.<sup>3</sup> So in respect to the metre of Piers Plowman, which poem Prof. Skeat has made his own, it also is derived from the Anglo-Saxon alliterative line, and has been discussed by Schipper (section III, chapter 10). I have no space for examples of this mistaken accentuation, but some may be found on p. 254 *ad fin.* Prof. Skeat has rightly corrected Dr. Guest's note on *eyr* (p. 176), and for examples of

<sup>1</sup> The quantity of the Anglo-Saxon vowels is not marked in the work.

<sup>2</sup> A. Leicht, in *Anglia* VI 126, discusses the question of the authorship of the alliterating metres of Boethius, and comes to the conclusion that the metres were not written by King Alfred, thus agreeing with Wright, as against Hartmann, who, in *Anglia* V 411, had come to a different conclusion.

<sup>3</sup> Compare on the metre of Layamon the articles of Wissmann, Einenkel, Schipper, and Trautmann in *Anglia* V.

both *cir* and *heir* antecedent to Chaucer, I would add Havelok, 606, and King Horn, 907. The last chapter of this book, on the Sectional Pause, has some useful remarks. Dr. Guest rightly regards it as "filling the place of an unaccented syllable," and so often corresponds to the failure of thesis, but he assumes a sectional pause also where there is simply a reverse rhythm, the accents then immediately following each other, which, in the examples quoted of English heroic metre, occurs most frequently in the second foot, but sometimes in the fourth. The same misconception in respect to Anglo-Saxon verse prevails here too, and some accentuations even of Shakspeare's lines may be objected to.

Book III is the longest and most interesting portion of the volume. It treats historically the Anglo-Saxon rhythms, the Early English sectional metres derived from them, with a history of the alliterative line and its modification by the accentual rhythm of the Latin chaunts, and the Psalm metres, which are regarded as "the natural growth of the Latin rhythm modified by the native rhythm of the language" (p. 302). The metres of five accents, the unfortunately named "tumbling" metres, loose rhythms, and certain metrical experiments are more briefly considered. Extracts with translation are given from the pseudo-Caedmon, the so-called Alfred's Metres, the Brunanburh War Song, the Confessor's Death Song, the Traveller's Song, and the Grave, which last, however, is too late to be regarded as a specimen of Anglo-Saxon versification. Dr. Guest well says (p. 315): "the scansion of an Anglo-Saxon verse is not a matter of mere curiosity. There can be little doubt that the modern accentuation of our language is mainly built upon that of its earliest dialect; and that we must investigate the latter before we can arrive at any satisfactory arrangement of the former." These wise words render, therefore, all the more necessary a correct arrangement of the latter, *i. e.* the Anglo-Saxon rhythms, and, after the study which German scholars have bestowed on this subject, we cannot consider Dr. Guest's system as any longer tenable, but we must ever remember that Dr. Guest was a pioneer. Dr. Guest, too, did not have the advantage of our modern editions of Anglo-Saxon and Early English works, but was obliged to labor over MSS, often inaccurate, and sometimes almost unintelligible, so that his remark with regard to Hickes, Lye, and Conybeare (p. 303), may be applied to himself: "They who devote themselves to discovery have rarely time for minute investigation; and their mistakes may well claim the forbearance of those who have profited by their labors." He insists upon the importance of following the MSS, and in noticing the "New Saxonist" controversy, criticizes Thorpe's Caedmon, though exempting Kemble's Beowulf, in part, from his criticisms, but it is strange that he did not make use of that work in preference to the defective "Metres" for his study of Anglo-Saxon rhythms.

Chapter III, on Sectional Metre, begins with a discussion of the Riming Poem, which seems scarcely to deserve the attention given to it. It is no fair specimen of Anglo-Saxon poetry, but remains alone in that literature, apparently as an effort of some old monk to show his skill in heaping together rimes with little regard to the intelligibility of the ideas conveyed. In connection with the metre of Layamon, Dr. Guest gives us some acute and valuable, but all too brief, remarks on his dialect and on the history of the language, and we must remember that this was ten years before Sir Frederic Madden's *editio princeps*.

An extract from *King Horn* follows, but Schipper (section III, chapter 9) is much fuller, and often differs from Dr. Guest in his accentuation, especially in those lines where failure of thesis is assumed. The Owl and Nightingale, Assumption of the Virgin, and Havelok, serve as examples of the metre of four accents, the origin of which, Dr. Guest thinks, is "involved in much obscurity" (p. 424); the first of these poems is the oldest he knows in that metre (p. 427),<sup>1</sup> but Schipper, who discusses the Owl and Nightingale (in section III, chapter 14), has explained this metre as occurring in the Pater Noster of the preceding century, *i. e.* the twelfth, and as of Norman-French origin, being seen in Wace's *Brut*, and other French poems, and derived from the iambic tetrameter catalectic.

William and the Werwolf, or William of Palerne, as Mr. Skeat calls it, the *Siege of Jerusalem*, "still unprinted," says Mr. Skeat, *Piers Plowman* (though no extracts of this poem are given), and *Gawayn and the Green Knight*, ascribed with probability, Dr. Guest thinks (p. 459), to Hugh of Eglington, or "Huchown," mentioned in Wynton's *Chronicle*,—serve as examples of the Old English alliterative metre, and the chapter closes with some brief remarks on the origin of British Romance, the *King Arthur* cycle, in connection with the question of the authorship of *Sir Tristrem*.

Chapter VI treats the Psalm Metres, and first the *Ormulum*, whose rhythm is derived from the catalectic iambic tetrameter of the Latin mediaeval hymns, as Schipper also takes it (section III, chapter 3), but without rime. Dr. Guest regards the *Ormulum* "as the oldest, the purest, and by far the most valuable specimen of our Old English dialect that time has left us" (p. 477), and in discussing its dialect, he treats us to some most acute, interesting and valuable remarks on the English dialects, which show, as Mr. Skeat well says (p. xi), "how much he was in advance of many of his contemporaries," and his conclusions have been but confirmed by the further more thorough studies of Dr. Morris and others. Dr. Guest refers to an article in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 110, on our "English Dialects," of which Mr. Skeat says: "I suppose it was written by R. Garnett" (p. 478, note 1), but if he had simply looked into the *Rev. Mr. Garnett's Philological Essays* (p. 41), he might have been certain about it. This is a valuable article on the subject discussed, and deserves consideration as the first of its kind, and while Dr. Guest does not acknowledge the five dialects proposed by Mr. Garnett, his conclusions are not so "different" that Mr. Garnett's proposed classification cannot be readily accommodated to them.

Dr. Guest calls Ormin's rhythm the "common-metre" of our hymn books, but he overlooks the short syllable over, which is invariably present in the *Ormulum* and lacking in common metre. Orm's metre wants one syllable, while common metre wants two syllables, to equal the iambic tetrameter. Dr. Guest discusses also the Alexandrine, and instances Robert of Brunne's translation of *Langtoft's Chronicle* as the earliest example of it, imitated directly from the French. He thinks the classical metre which gave rise to it "by no means an obvious one" (p. 515), but I would refer for a fuller treatment of the

<sup>1</sup> On p. 684, however, Dr. Guest says of the Pater Noster: "This poem is written in the same kind of verse as the *Hule and Nigtengale*, and is, if genuine, the earliest specimen of such metre in our language." After Strutt, he ascribes it to Pope Adrian.

subject to Schipper, section III, chapters 5 and 13, and for its origin to chapter I also. The expression "tumbling verse" is derived from King James's "Reulis and Cautelis," and is most unfortunate to designate the anapaestic rhythms, or mixed iambic and anapaestic, of which a very indifferent example is given from Lydgate's "London Lickpenny," and another from Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar, February, of which Dr. Guest says (p. 536): "The distinction between this metre and that of Christabel is slight indeed," but Coleridge claims that his metre is "founded on a *new principle*, namely, that of counting in each line the accents, not the syllables."<sup>1</sup> The principle is certainly old enough, being the basis of all Anglo-Saxon rhythms, but having been so long neglected, Coleridge might claim credit for its revival.

Other matters worthy of consideration must be passed over, in order to notice briefly book IV, which treats of poems written in staves, or stanzas, although the two are thus defined by Dr. Guest (p. 562): "A stave is a portion of a song or poem, containing a given number of verses, arranged according to some given law, and ending with a period, or at least with some important division of a sentence. When two or more staves are knit together into one, the compound stave thence resulting may be called a stanza—a name that seems to have been first applied to the compound Italian staves, which came into fashion during the sixteenth century." The ordinary *common, long or short* metre stanza, then, is simply a stave, while the sonnet is a stanza proper. Popular usage, however, does not recognize the distinction. The stave forms are treated by Schipper in section IV, chapters 1-7 on *strophes*. Dr. Guest thinks (p. 564) that during the eleventh and early twelfth century our versification was gradually taking a form similar to the Icelandic, and if it "had continued free from foreign influences but one century longer, it might have exhibited the same peculiarities of structure which were afterwards adopted by the Icelandic." We should be thankful, then, to the "foreign influences" on this account, as on many others. This book treats the origin of the staves from Latin and Romance rhythms, and their various forms, those with continuous and interwoven rime, the psalm staves, those with the burthen, wheel, and bob-wheel, or "short and abrupt wheel, which came into fashion during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries" (p. 621), and (whether of Latin or Celtic origin, Dr. Guest does not stop to inquire) was "familiar to the Romance dialects before it was adopted by the English," the earliest native specimen being found in a Hymn to the Virgin of about the year 1200. The "ballet-stave" in its various forms is next discussed,—the most common being the Chaucer stanza of seven lines, or "rhythme-royal," as Gascoigne called it,—the *roundle* and the *virelay*, though Dr. Guest does not "profess to give every variety of ballet-stave that may be found in our poetry, for the number would rather confuse the reader than enlighten him" (p. 650); and finally, the sonnet, which is, however, all too briefly treated. While of Sicilian origin, it owes its celebrity to Petrarch, but its structure was changed by the Italians of the sixteenth century; it was introduced into English verse by Surrey [and Wyatt], and used by Spenser, Shakspeare and Milton, by whose aid it recovered its original form. The final couplet was soon lost, and the

<sup>1</sup> For some judicious remarks on the metre of Christabel compare Leigh Hunt's essay on "What is Poetry?" prefixed to his Selections from the English Poets.



sonnet gave birth to the elegiac stave, which, with the ballad stave, thinks Dr. Guest, was the last invented (p. 656).

The following chapter treats the "broken staves," of which Waller's familiar song, "Go, lovely rose," is an example of a stave of five verses broken in the first and third, and Bryant's [not Briant's] "Address to a Waterfowl," is an example of another variety. It may be remarked, in passing, that this is the sole quotation I find from any American poet. The Spenser staves are next discussed, under which title are included not only the Spenserian stanza of nine verses, but all those in which an Alexandrine is added to some well-known combination, or substituted for the last verse of the stanza (p. 667). Dr. Guest remarks with reference to the Spenser stave used by Chatterton that "this anachronism would, of itself, be sufficient to prove the forgery, even though it had baffled every other test which modern criticism has applied to it" (p. 672), and Mr. Skeat adds a quotation to the same effect from his *Essay on the Rowley Poems*. The last chapter contains a brief historical sketch of our early poets and their works, from the fifth century to the fourteenth inclusive, but whatever the date of the Gleeman's Song, which must be interpolated, modern criticism will hardly assign "Beowulf" to the fifth century, although "they are the most venerable relics of our early literature" (p. 675).

Whatever exceptions may be taken to Dr. Guest's statements, or to his classification of English rhythms, it is well to have his valuable work accessible in convenient form, although much of it is now antiquated, and it should have been accompanied by a commentary stating the more modern views on various points. This publication makes all the more necessary a speedy translation into English of Schipper's work, for it is to be hoped that English scholars will not take Dr. Guest's work as an unquestioned authority, when one written from the standpoint of modern criticism, in a strictly historical and much more systematic manner, is readily accessible. The subject is one of great interest, and one which has been sadly neglected, so that it has been thought advisable to republish this work, which dates back a half-century, and was the sole authority for its day. A handbook for instruction in the history and classification of English rhythms is much needed, but it will be written on the basis of Prof. Schipper's work rather than of Dr. Guest's. The two invite comparison and there can be no question as to the preference. It is only to be hoped that Schipper's work may be soon completed, so that the subject may be brought down to the present day.

Prof. Skeat adds to the volume a list of Dr. Guest's papers on philological subjects, which are buried in the *Proceedings of the Philological Society of London*. Now that the collection of his archaeological papers has been published in "*Origines Celticae*,"—an insufficient title,—it would be a useful work to have his philological papers also republished, for they treat subjects important to every English scholar, and idioms on which I do not doubt that one of his clear perception and extensive learning has thrown much light. Dr. Guest highly appreciated the study of his own language, and his remarks on the neglect of it, while not so applicable now as in 1838, are still too true: "The little attention that is paid to the critical study of our language, and the slight regard which attempts to investigate its history have met with, reflect no less discredit on our patriotism than on our scholarship" (pp. 702-3). The Early

English Text Society has done much to relieve English scholars of this discredit, but the results of its labors still need to be systematized and put in more popular and accessible form. After commenting on the range of influence of the English language even in 1838—and how much greater now!—Dr. Guest well concludes: "Though it were not our mother-tongue, it would still, of all living languages [or dead, I would add], be the one most worthy of our study and our cultivation, as bearing most directly on the happiness of mankind."

JAMES M. GARNETT.

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Sammlung Romanischer Grammatiken. Raetoromanische Grammatik, von TH. GARTNER. 80 pp., xlviii, 206. Heilbronn, Henninger, 1883.

Just as in the rapidly developing science of biology, the student of medicine changes the basis of his investigation with reference to the old school and studies animal life from the standpoint of living forms, so the student of modern languages turns from the fixed forms of written speech to the living dialects to study the historical growth of language in its formative period.

The paramount importance of dialectology for the proper discrimination and classification of any set of language elements is now generally recognized, and constitutes the most striking difference between the leading drift of language-study to-day and ten to fifteen years ago. Before this, the dialects were regarded as rich sources of phonetic law and morphological change, but they were not insisted upon as absolutely necessary to a correct knowledge of the diversified linguistic products which have been gradually moulded and built up into our present systems of complex speech. And nowhere else more than in the Romance languages has late dialect research proved a valuable aid in the solution of grammatical questions, beyond the reach of general principles, which, to a certain extent, are applicable to all the individual members of the group. Hitherto, scientific Romance grammar has dealt only with those literary idioms which constitute to-day the common vehicles of thought for the majority of the Neo-latin peoples. At the present time we demand of it that it represent, in a greater or less degree of fullness, the peculiarities, written and unwritten, of those divers centres of dialect influence which helped to make up the current language. It was, therefore, with a wise perception of our contemporary needs that, as far back as 1878, a movement was set on foot in Germany to publish a series of Romance grammars that should fully embody the spirit and method of research characteristic of the existing state of these studies. The collaborators in the enterprise have worked steadily for five years in the various departments of the field to which they were assigned, and the first to offer us the results of his labors is Prof. Gartner, of Vienna, in his *Raetoromanische Grammatik*, a veritable wonder of untiring patience and industry, and a fine model of scientific dialect investigation. To collect the materials for his work, the author received, first, a year's leave of absence from his academic duties, during which time he travelled over the whole language-territory, noting carefully the differences of idiom on the spot; and then a second term of the same length was granted him to work up his linguistic stock. How well he has done the latter, out of an enormous wealth of forms, no one will be able to appreciate better than the Romance scholar who has

worked himself into the multiform types of the Raetian language through the author's predecessors.

Here, for the first time, we find material covering a total of seventy-six different points in the language-territory, sifted, selected, and distributed in so lucid a manner, both with reference to the spoken and written idiom, and to the different ages of the same, that the scholar can seize with little trouble the main lines of development of the collective group. The territory itself, in its limitations and divisions, is treated in an independent way, and is considerably retrenched as compared with the extent given to it by Ascoli. The latter laid much stress upon the relation of the Raetoromanance to the Italian, which Gartner very wisely overlooks, confining himself closely to the domain that he is dealing with, and leaving the other outside idioms to be located in the special grammars that are to follow. In addition, however, to the principal varieties of purely Raetian speech which are constantly compared, and their agreements and differences scrupulously marked, the neighboring *mischdialekte* are taken into account, and form the chief factor in the make-up of those interesting relations that exist between this and more settled types of language. It is to be hoped that the fitting appellation—*Raetoromanisch*—proposed and used throughout this work to denote the whole body of Raetian dialects, will be adopted by scholars generally, and thus end the discussion with reference to the most suitable name for them. The prestige, however, of Ascoli's name, especially in Italy, will be likely to keep up for some time yet his favorite technical term, Ladinian, as applicable to the entire class, and, in this way, lead to confusion. An appropriate restriction, it would seem, of the meaning of this term, which has almost universally crept into works on Raetian philology, would be that used by Ulrich in his *Raetoromanische Chrestomathie*, where it is applied exclusively to the language and literature of the Inn valley as contrasted with the Upper Rhine.

The triple geographical division of the territory into the Grisons, Tyrol, and Friuli species is handy for reference, and the different districts thus easily distinguished by separate and marked characteristics of language. They represent a comparatively limited section on the map of Europe, and the half million of inhabitants comprised in it are not sufficiently strong in commerce or other material pursuits to make them of great importance, were it not for the peculiar position their language holds with reference to the German on the one hand, and to its sister dialect, the Italian (Lombard and Venetian), on the other. Lodged, for the most part, in mountainous regions, where they were shut off from many of the influences that produce changes in the speech of plains and valleys, they have preserved numerous interesting specimens, both in phonology and morphology, of an archaic stage of linguistic forms. Then, again, in the apparently heterogeneous jumble of German and Romance elements in the Grisons and Tyrol divisions, we discover laws of change and interchange which are developed according to fixed principles, and which throw light on what must have been the condition of things in the French proper at the time of the Teutonic invasions. But in the Raetian, of course, the grip of the foreign element has never been loosened by absence of contact, and hence its potential influence becomes the more marked in cases where neither assimilation nor absorption was possible. In all cases, however, the

rank and file of grammar categories have stuck to the direct line of Latin tradition, and have not swerved from it even in parts of the field where they have been beaten back and have given place to the numerically superior forces of the German.

For all these provinces of the present Raetian domain, the author thinks that he has discovered a gradual tendency to fall away before their more powerful neighbors. Among the Grisons, traces of the physical influence of the Lombard are clearly manifest in the language; but the border dialects, being numerous and very diverse in character, present a very strong concentrated drift towards italianization. On the North it is different. Here the Teutonic power is predominant, and favored, moreover, by the natural configuration of the country, the ultimate displacement of the Romance idioms of the upper Inn and Rhine by the Swiss German is almost certain. In the Tyrol it is the Venetian which is eating into the Raetian territory and little by little driving out the original idiom, while in Friuli the overwhelming pressure of the Italian written language, backed by exclusive official sanction, makes a prediction with reference to the future of this species comparatively easy.

The word-supply of the Raetian dialect set is characteristic in that we find here, besides the ordinary types common to the whole body of Romance speech, a large number of specific Latin forms that exist only in these mountainous districts. It is the western member of the group (the Grisons) that abounds especially in these unique creations, and for this reason as well as for the varied mould of its grammar-classes, its peculiar phrase-settings, and superior literary importance, it offers greater interest to the investigator than either of the other representatives of this stock.

For the phonology, those points are specially noted in this treatise which are common to all the leading dialects, and the chief varieties of sound that belong to the several subdialects and mixed dialects are registered according to a system which enables one to see at a glance where they stand, both with reference to the general phonological phenomena of the set and of any individual member belonging to it. The bulk of phonetic alterations and differences in any given set of dialects thus becomes specialized, and by contrast may be sketched in the mind of the student with more clearness and sharpness of outline. Here the author follows a strict qualitative analysis of the different sound-products, and only treats their quantitative relations as they are affected by the various mechanical processes of prosthesis and aphaeresis, epenthesis and syncope, epithesis and apocope. Abundant material is furnished in the texts cited and in the word-of-mouth examples for further and more detailed research into any particular phase of Raetian phonology.

The writer acts the part rather of a pioneer in this branch of his subject, laying down the main lines of investigation that are to be carried out with reference to it, and leaving to others the business of elucidating special and peculiar aspects of it. But it is in the department of morphology where we meet with the greatest originality of treatment and the most extensive array of facts adduced to verify, step by step, the processes of evolution that glide into one another almost imperceptibly in this immense mass of material. For every one of sixty-seven dialect centres, the author's lexicological collection contains three hundred and fifty articles, and for each of his nine *musterdialekte*

he has 1400 articles. The fund of material thus brought together is large enough to trace the life-history of all forms of importance; and so far as certain grammatical orders are concerned, such as the verb, we now have a sufficiently complete scheme to represent all the successive stages of growth, from the earliest written records down to the latest variation of the spoken language. In the West alone are found interesting remnants of the dual-case period of Romance speech, of the neuter gender as an independent grammar form, and of the displacement of accent in certain plural formations (*ldtro*—*latrónes*). For an explanation of special types of this last class, the author is disposed to agree with Prof. Förster, who holds (*Zeitschr. f. r. Philol.* III 566) to the bold theory that alongside of the termination *o*, *onem*; *ones*, there existed another of like character and formation, *a*, *anem*, *anes*, and from the latter he would take such examples as *Donauns*, *Mattauns*, etc.

The ordinary telescoping of Romance grammar forms under the influence of accent and euphony is carefully brought out, and home-grown words are sharply distinguished throughout the work from imported products. It is, however, in the department of the verb that our author has made the most exhaustive collection of forms, and for his nine principal dialects the list is probably well-nigh perfect. Here, more than anywhere else, is the investigator made to feel that, in the plastic period of language, every writer is a full-fledged grammarian. The shifts often resorted to by an author at this time to have a grammar form of his own in preference to that of some one else, is thoroughly characteristic of a stage of language that has not yet cast off its swaddling clothes, and where the supporters of the literary element do not hesitate to snub the patrons of popular speech by rejecting the traditional types of thought-expression, and, in many cases, substituting therefor bungling, uncouth neologisms. For the conjugation scheme we have the common strong and weak verb classes, and, in addition to these, another comprising two divisions, which the author would call *überschwach*. The first of these belongs exclusively to the A-conjugation, is peculiar to the Rhine valley, and is distinguished by wedging in between the root and termination the notable device *-edy-*, which is developed out of *eg*, *et*, before a vowel and represents the classic *-ic*. The second division covers the simple inchoative suffix *-sc*, which, instead of being hedged in by the limits of the fourth conjugation, is extended to the A-forms in the Grisons, and offers us some points of special interest. Besides the regular legitimate tenses that have been preserved from the Latin, viz. the present and imperfect indicative and the pluperfect subjunctive, the sixteenth and seventeenth century authors, in particular, garnished their respective idioms with a multitude of derivative Latin tense-forms, that clogged and hampered the natural growth by giving it such variety as to prove a burden rather than a help in the expression of thought.

Mussafia, in an article (*Zur Praesensbildung im Romanischen*) published last April in the *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, treats the most noteworthy phases of growth in the present tense, and here we find the first person plural of the I-conjugation taken in tow by *sumus* throughout the Tyrolese territory, and by *habemus* in the Grisons. In the Piemontese dialect and in French we find the first of these processes common to the whole group of verbs; in the Venetian and Lombard dialects the second is followed out. For the



imperfect, it is the Engadine alone that does not stick to the traditional Latin form, *e. g. putreva*. The author has very conveniently arranged all the irregular verbs according to the Latin type; for example, sub *ire, vadere*, we find not only the regular conjugation, but also all the forms collected in the order of person and number, with their numerous equivalents and the dates of their use.

A most valuable supplement, covering twenty-one pages, and a good register end the book. In the former we have placed before us a large number of common words, such as *aqua, bene, bonus, casa, clavis*, and the numerals, running through fifty strictly Raetian and nineteen neighboring dialects. The dialectologist must be fastidious indeed who would not be satisfied with this extraordinary mass of material, where he can study both form and phonetics for almost every shading of every dialect belonging to the group. All moot points touching the language are left unnoticed, and the syntax is not treated at all in this grammar.

A. M. ELLIOTT.

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Aeschylus. *Prometheus Bound*, with Notes and an Introduction, by R. H. MATHER, of Amherst College. Boston, John Allyn, 1883.

No play is better adapted than the *Prometheus* for use with a class beginning Greek tragedy, and we are prepared to welcome warmly an edition which shall give us the results of the philological study of this play since the publication of President Woolsey's judicious edition, of which the plates now are badly worn. The edition before us contains so much that is good, mainly gathered from different sources, that we hesitate to pronounce it faulty, both in plan and in execution. This judgment seems necessary, however, when we examine the work in detail. If the book did not bear evident marks of elaboration we should ascribe many statements therein to carelessness; if the editor had not been teaching Greek at Amherst College for a quarter of a century, many errors would be ascribed to ignorance. On 806 he translates Πλούτωνος πόνον as 'the ford of Pluto'; spoiling the sense gratuitously, for no translation is needed in the note. He writes, on 725, of the Amazons who 'shall inhabit Themiscyra about Thermodon,' where few boys would imagine that 'Thermodon' was a river, on the banks of which the Amazons were to dwell. An error so inexcusable that we must ascribe it to the demon of the press, although it more closely resembles a freshman's blunder, is in the note on 452; κατώρυγες is translated "burrows or dugout." The printer's devil clearly took this word for a noun.

The editor drops into etymologies occasionally, but generally is unfortunate. Sometimes he drags in an etymology against his will. Thus on σφίγγε, v. 58, he is led to mention the Sphinx, and proceeds to connect that word with the English *fox*, referring to Curtius. But Curtius dropped this as untenable at least as early as the last edition of his "Etymology," in 1879. The editor forgets the Attic use of παρελθεῖν, and neglects the natural contrast with the Exodos, when he says that the Parodos of the chorus was so named "because the chorus entered from the side of the stage." On 733 he says that Βόσπορος is "properly Ox-ford," but at once "hedges" by adding, not quite clearly, that "probably this derivation is confined to Aeschylus, and has no philological connection with the myth of Io; for in all other compounds of βούς the diphthong is retained."

A characteristic note is that on v. 680: "Argus was killed by Hermes with a stone, who was from this exploit called 'Αργειφόντης. Hera placed Argus' hundred eyes in the tail of a peacock. This tradition as well as that concerning the manner of his death goes to show that the whole story was symbolically connected with the peacock, the sacred bird of India." It is unnecessary to remind the readers of this Journal how distinctly the drift of philological opinion has led toward the belief that this byname of Hermes had nothing to do with Argus. It would have been better for the editor to have said nothing about "a stone," for the form of the myth according to which Hermes killed Argus with his sword, seems to have been at least as prevalent. What the editor adds about the peacock's tail might better have been reserved for the class-room. That the peacock is the "sacred bird of India" seems to be untrue. Moreover, the Argus-myth does not deserve to be called a "tradition." Of this note, then, only the first five words are true and in their right place.

Another unfortunate note is that on 458, where the editor speaks of "the difficulty of distinguishing between the true setting of a star and its apparent or heliacal setting, when, by its nearness to the sun, it is rendered invisible by its superior brightness." The confusion here is all in the editor's mind; in themselves, the heliacal and the daily settings cannot be confounded. The editor's mistake is the less excusable since he refers to Blakesley's Herodotus (a book which is in the hands of few students), where the matter is clearly stated.

The editor not infrequently strays from the point which is to be explained or illustrated. When Oceanus says, v. 290, that the tie of blood constrains him to sympathize with the misfortunes of Prometheus, the editor tells us: "The laws of kinship were very binding. The plots of many of the Greek tragedies are based on the principle that children must avenge the wrongs of their parents." So on 129: "These archaic forms [of the Doric dialect] had been so long used in choral worship that the Greeks came to love the dialect as essential to the service, and hence insisted on retaining it; just as the Ephesians preferred the ugly old idol in their great temple of Artemis to the finest statue of the goddess completed in later times, and as some persons at the present day consider it almost profanation to correct even the grammatical errors in King James' version of the Bible." And again, on the same page: "This training by Oceanus of his children to be retiring and respectful is quite in contrast with certain modern manners of the young." The crowning absurdity into which the editor is led by his desire to make a chatty text-book is his note on v. 91, where the mention of the sun suggests the idea of sun-worship (which was not in the mind of Aeschylus), and this leads him to the statue of the sun-god at Rhodes, "the Colossus, seventy feet high, that bestrode the harbor." The harbor of Rhodes is not far from 700 feet wide at the narrowest part, and it would have been interesting if Professor Mather had added an illustration of his "Colossus, seventy feet high," bestriding it. The use of *feet* for *cubits* probably was a slip of the pen. If the editor's imagination had been stronger, it would have served him here in good stead. The imperfect development of his representative faculty has led him to other ludicrous positions. He tells us, on v. 561, that it is impossible to decide positively whether Io was represented upon the stage as "a heifer with a woman's head, furnished with horns, or simply as a woman with horns." But he reminds us that "the

Athenians did not hesitate to make the hideous, revolting centaurs prominent in the noblest art," and that on a bas-relief, Io was represented as changed into a cow. He elsewhere speaks of her "revolting form," and we see that he thinks it at least possible that the actor who had played the part of Oceanus came in as a quadruped and curveted over the stage like a calf. He cuts himself off from refuge to the view that the quadruped may not have frisked about, by saying in the Introduction, p. xxxvii, that "the frantic efforts of Io to get away from her tormentor would seem to require more room for the performance of her part than the limits of a small balcony would furnish." His argument from the centaurs is without point, since we are not informed of their introduction upon the tragic stage. He does not seem to have borne in mind the boundary lines between the drama and painting and sculpture, an oblivion which is the more peculiar since he has lectured, we believe, in the School of Art at Smith College. We are tempted to believe that the editor's conception of Io as a cow led him to his interpretation of the exclamation of the chorus after the recital of Io's sufferings, v. 687, *ἐα ἔα, ἀπεχε, φεῦ*, which he translates "keep (her) off." Evidently these maidens share the well-known fear of their sex for *horned cattle*, and it seems to be hard fate which leaves them no male protector except Prometheus, chained to the rock. This shows that Aeschylus had studied carefully the feminine mind. The editor's comment on this exclamation is only slightly different: "This is addressed to *Pro.* by the chorus, whose purity is shocked by the story of Io, and they wish to avoid all contact with such an accursed creature." It is the editor and not the poet who speaks of the "sin of Io."

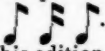
The editor's language is often inexact. He gives the name *stichomythy* to the dialogue between Kratos and Hephaestus, where he himself remarks that "it will be observed that Hephaestus confines himself to a single verse *while Kratos employs two.*" He offends mortally against good taste by always abbreviating the name Prometheus to *Pro.* We have not chanced to find a passage where this has saved any space.

A note on Dodona, on v. 830, occupies more than half a page. The editor's authority for the site is Col. Leake, whose *Travels* were published in 1835, who believed the site of the ancient oracle to be at the southern extremity of the lake Janina. Professor Mather evidently is ignorant of the excavations conducted several years ago by Carapanos, whose elaborate account of them in two volumes was published in 1878. Nearly fifty inscriptions pertaining to the oracle, most of them being questions addressed to Zeus and Dione, leave no doubt that the oracle was situated on a projecting knoll, near the middle of the valley of Tcharacovista. A dozen miles one way or another in the position of Dodona make little difference to the college student, but the perhaps groundless suspicion is excited that the scholar who has never heard of the discoveries there is not well read in modern philological literature and may not be prepared to make a satisfactory edition of a Greek play. We are reminded that Professor Mather edited some selections from Herodotus about ten years ago and repeated there, on Hdt. VII 213, the old view that the Amphictyonic Council met in the spring at Delphi and in the autumn at Thermopylae; while inscriptions found at Delphi, and the Funeral Oration of Hyperides, which was discovered in an Egyptian tomb, proved years before to the general satisfaction of scholars

that the Council in both spring and fall met at Thermopylae, its original seat, and then proceeded to Delphi. This error has been repeated since Professor Mather's publication by two other American editors.

Seldom are so many philological errors brought together and soberly enunciated as on some of the pages of the introduction, on the representation of Greek plays. The editor has much delightful knowledge. He knows to a foot the width of the middle door of the stage and the exact arrangement of the mask and mouthpiece. He knows that the stage was provided with a curtain and how it was managed. He tells us that the plays of Euripides required frequent change of scene. But unfortunately he is not always consistent. On p. xx he says that the poet "more than compensated" for the simplicity of the plot of the Prometheus, and for the lack of action, "by the wild grandeur of the scenery," etc., while on p. xxxiv we read that "the stage illusions must have been very imperfect. In such large open-air amphitheatres [*sic*] they used scenery simply to suggest the interpretation of the play, expecting the imagination of the spectators to supply the rest." Why the editor's pen should have slipped into the word *amphitheatres* it is not easy to see.

The editor avoids everything that savors of scholarship; he gives no parallel passages for illustration, even on *πρὸς κέντρα κῶλον ἐκτενεῖς* merely referring to Acts ix. 5. He dodges the question of the marriage of the nymphs, v. 901, and does not explain the allusion to the trident of Poseidon, v. 925, which ought to be illustrated from Pindar's eighth Isthmian Ode. In general, he wisely avoids the mention of the names of scholars who have edited this play. When he breaks this rule, the result is sometimes disastrous, as on 887: "Paley and Wecklein refer here to the proverb said to have originated with Pittacus of Mytilene, *τὴν κατὰ σαρτὸν ἔλα*." This reference to the Englishman and German shows that the editor did not know that they took the note from the later *scholiast*; and on 560 his expression, "in *Buttmann's Scholia*," etc., implies that his study of the old commentators has been superficial.

Curiously enough, the treatment of the lyric parts of the Prometheus in this volume is not by Professor Mather, but "by an arrangement of the publisher," the metrical introduction and schemes were prepared by Professor Gould, on the system of J. H. H. Schmidt. The notation is the most convenient, and teachers will be glad of these schemes, although they may be unwilling to adopt unreservedly the principle of eurhythm which is made so prominent here. The metrical editor seems to differ from Professor Mather in his interpretation of one passage. One line, v. 117, *ἵκετο θερμόνιον ἐπὶ πάγον*, is severely strained to make it bacchiac, while little if anything is gained by this treatment. It is probably a misprint which, in the definition of the cyclic dactyl, p. 131, makes it equal to .

A teacher with this edition might make his recitations interesting and profitable, sharpening on the notes the critical faculties of his class. For this use, probably undesigned by the editor, the book seems well fitted. Otherwise it is not adapted to class-room use. It assumes that the student has no teacher or, at least, receives no instruction, and it anticipates the work of the class-room so far as the editor can. To a student who reads the play without a teacher, this edition gives much that is interesting, combined with various errors.

Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik, mit Einschluss des älteren Mittellateins, als Vorarbeit zu einem Thesaurus Linguae Latinae mit Unterstützung der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Herausgegeben von EDUARD WÖLFFLIN. Erster Jahrgang. Heft 1. Leipzig, Teubner, 1884.

There can be no difference of opinion as to the significance of this undertaking, which seems destined to usher in a new era in Latin lexicography, and to give a new impetus to the study of Latin in general. It has been easy to find fault with the dictionaries of the past. They were often the work of mere compilers without scholarship, who repeated the errors of their predecessors and added new ones of their own. The meanings assigned to words were poorly classified and sadly inadequate, while the citations but too frequently proved a mere mockery. At their best estate they represented very imperfectly the rich resources of the Latin language in its various periods of development. Even with the best abilities and the most conscientious and untiring effort, such as we must concede to Georges and a few eminent lexicographers, the task has proved too great for the strength of one man. What was needed was the combined effort of a large number of well-trained scholars, working with a single purpose, under the direction of some wise leader, each one confining his attention to a limited portion of the whole field to be surveyed, but viewing this with an almost microscopic scrutiny. We cannot but admire the courage of Prof. Wölfflin, who, undaunted by the difficulties in the way, has settled upon a plan of organization, and has already engaged over two hundred scholars to aid him in the enterprise.

His name alone furnishes us a guaranty that nothing will be omitted to secure thoroughness and accuracy. In a brief preface he explains the nature of the undertaking and outlines the plan of operation. The Latin literature down to the time of Charlemagne, and in exceptional cases even later, is to be included; and not simply the literature, but also inscriptions and glossaries, laws, charters and diplomas. Not only the cases of occurrence of a word are to be noted, but also its total absence or rare use in an author. For example, the fact that *avere* occurs sixteen times in the letters to Atticus, and only twice in Cicero's orations (and that, too, in the Philippics), prepares us to believe that the word belongs rather to the *sermo familiaris*; and the fact that neither Caesar nor Sallust employs it is significant. Hence, the sphere of a word's use must be more distinctly defined, whether it belongs more to poetry or to prose, to early or late Latin, to the vulgar or refined speech, and even whether a particular author (like Cicero or Tacitus) uses it more frequently in his early than in his late works. When a word becomes rare or obsolete, it must be noted what are the expressions which contend with it for the possession of an idea, and which finally crowd it out. Orthography, prosody, syntactical construction, normal and peculiar forms, peculiar meanings, exceptional position in the sentence, must all receive attention.

The whole field has been divided into some 250 sections, for nearly all of which scholars have been found to assume the responsibility. For the next three years, a 'Frage Zettel' is to be issued in each semester, containing about forty questions, the answers to which are to be forwarded to the Archiv before



a fixed date. The present number of the Archiv contains eighty of these questions. Questions 1-10 ask for data in regard to words beginning with *a*, from *abacus* to *abarceo*; 41-50, from *abavia* to *abductio*. As specimens of the more general questions we cite:

13. Alle Subst. u. Adject. auf *aster* (*astrum*, *astellus*). Sollte die Ableitung nicht in malam partem zu verstehen sein, so ist dies ausdrücklich zu bemerken (August. civ. d. 2, 27 *vir gravis et philosophaster Cicero*.) Ital. *astro*, franz. *âtre* bezeichnen bekanntlich nur noch die Aehnlichkeit.

21, *trans*. Beispiele nebst Accus. u. Verb. auszuschreiben. Ist *trans* konsequent vermieden (wie z. B. Curtius ausschliesslich nur *ultra* mit Flussnamen verbindet), so ist ein leerer Zettel einzulegen, mit der bemerkung 'fehlt.'

52. Die mit *in* privativum zusammengesetzten Substantiva von denen das voraussetzende Adjektiv nicht vorkommt; z. B. *inedia*, *indoloria*, etc.

59. Was heisst *umsonst*? z. B. *frustra*, *nequiquam*, *in cassum*, *in vanum* (en vain).

72. *Ut quid = quare*, wozu? wie Cic. Attic. 7, 7, 7. *Depugna, inquis, potiusquam servias. Ut quid?* etc. Ellipse von *fiat*, wie bei *iva ri*; häufig im Spätlatein und Mittellatein. Rönsch, Ital. s. 253.

The Archiv itself will be open to contributions of a lexical and grammatical character, and to *miscellanea* and notices of recent publications in the same field. The present number contains several such articles which will be found very stimulating and suggestive reading. Loewe contributes fresh material from the Glossaries; Gröber discusses with much learning the "Sprachquellen und Wortquellen des lateinischen Wörterbuchs." He recognizes the Romance languages as a source from which new Latin words and forms may be inferred. He claims distinctly that the vulgar Latin never died out as a mother-tongue, although for convenience it is important to set a limit between the vulgar Latin and its modern descendants, as it is convenient to distinguish between Anglo-Saxon and English. He attempts to settle approximately the period in which the feeling for correct Latin as a literary instrument was lost in France, Spain and Italy. From Thielmann's article we gain an idea of how much is still to be gleaned from the study of Bible-latin. The Latinity of Gaius is discussed by Wilh. Kalb, and some interesting facts are brought out. We see, for example, how the eminent jurist, for the sake of clearness, avoids ellipses which are elsewhere common. He never uses *pro rata* for *pro rata parte*, *dimidia* for *dimidia pars*, *fera* for *fera bestia*, *alternis* for *alternis (vicibus, diebus, etc.)*, always preferring the fuller form. He repeats the substantive with the relative, *eiusdem condicionis*, *cuius condicionis*, regularly uses *eatenus—quatenus*, avoids verbs derived from comparatives, as *certiorare*, *meliorare*, found in other jurists. Wölfflin himself supplements his well-known treatise on Latin and Romance comparison, by remarks on the use of *magne*, *magnopere*, *summe*, *multum* (Ital. *molto*), *valde*, *fortiter*, *bene*, *male*, *prime*, *cum primis*, *plane*, *prorsus*, *nimis*, *perfecte*, and other intensive adverbs. On p. 95 *adplene* is compared with the Ital. *appieno*. Here we think Donatus' use of *ad plenum* as a synonym for *perfecte* might have been mentioned. It has apparently escaped the notice of lexicographers, And. II 3, 4 (*perspicere est ad plenum et perfecte videre*), cf. And. II 6, 16 already given by Georges, and And. II 4, 3. We cannot accept Schenk's proposal (p. 101) to emend Calpurnius, Ecl. 4, 63, *Montibus Hyblaica moduliabile*

*carmen avena*, by reading *carmen modulatus avena*, and to strike *modulabilis* out of the lexica. We have noted it in Scholia Bernensia (Hagen, p. 793), Ecl. VI, Introduction, "*haec ecloga modulabilis est*," and further search will very likely discover it elsewhere.

Buecheler brings a grist of new words in the "Miscellen," pp. 102-114, supported with his usual ingenuity, and restores beyond appeal *mordicibus* to Aul. 234, *telinum* to Curc. 100, and *insegesi* to Truc. 314. Studemund furnishes some interesting notes on *Aestumo*, *Exobsecro*, *Ungulaster Lectina*. The rest of the number is chiefly occupied with book notices. We bespeak for this new undertaking the heartiest encouragement on the part of American scholars. Surely if there is any work which progressive Latinists cannot do without, it is this.

M. WARREN.

A Complete Concordance to the Comedies and Fragments of Aristophanes.

By HENRY DUNBAR, M. D., Edinburgh. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1883.

There is a pathetic interest attending this book. We learn from an introductory note by Prof. Geddes, of Aberdeen, that the compiler, Dr. Dunbar, died soon after having written the preface, having, it may be presumed, seen the work through the press. Though this review may be in some respects unfavorable, it would be as unjust as foolish not to recognize gratefully the immense amount of labor which must have been bestowed upon it, and the extent to which it must facilitate the work of all persons who may hereafter occupy themselves with the language of Aristophanes. As it is not an index, but a concordance, in which the words used by the poet are not merely referred to, but quoted with their setting, the compilation of it must have necessitated the copying out of every line in the plays and fragments as many times as the lines contain words other than personal pronouns, forms of the article, and the particles. These last it would have been well to include, at least to a considerable extent; yet to none of them, with the single exception, it is believed, of *ἐως*, has Dr. Dunbar given more than a line or two, contenting himself with grouping all the remaining instances of their occurrence under a comprehensive "*κ. τ. λ.*" In this respect alone is the present work less useful than the Index of Caravella, which professes to give, and, so far as has been observed, actually gives a reference to each separate occurrence of every single word. For *μή* Dr. Dunbar quotes two lines only, while Caravella refers to about 550 instances of *μή* and nearly 100 of *μή*. To have treated all the particles with absolute completeness would no doubt have materially increased the size of the book; but some kind of judicious compromise might have been made, and space might have been gained by compression in other directions; for instance, by reducing the number of lines quoted as containing *μὰ Δία* or *νῆ Δία*, which fill nearly three pages.

Prof. Geddes predicts that this is a book "which will not be superseded for two hundred years." It is not unlikely that his vaticination will prove correct. But if so much labor was to be expended on a work of this kind, it was in the highest degree desirable that the plan on which it was to be executed should be the result of mature consideration; and Prof. Geddes, when he suggested

to Dr. Dunbar the compilation of a concordance to Aristophanes, would have done well to point out to him that a concordance would be more valuable than an index, exactly in so far as it might furnish students with the means of getting at once some insight into the meaning and usage of a word, by quoting it along with so much of its environment as would indicate its sense and grammatical relations. Dr. Dunbar has imposed upon himself a purely mechanical rule of citation. He quotes the whole of a line in which a word occurs, neither more nor less; and this rule leads, in the case of a writer like Aristophanes, to numberless citations which are as grotesque in appearance as they are useless for purposes of interpretation or syntactical appreciation. When one finds, for example, "*θαρρήσας*, I. 623; *τιστε*, θ. λέγ' ὡς ᾱ-," it may not perhaps be hard to divine that the syllable *βέλ-* must occur in the preceding line; but what does *ᾱ-* suggest as to the following line? Under *Μανῆς* we find: "Α. 1212, *ρούς*. ὁ Μ. δ'." Who shall say of what word *ρούς* forms a part? or how is the quotation more helpful than if it told us simply that *Μανῆς* occurs in the given line? Under *καδίσκοις* we have: "Σ. 321: *μῶν ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς κ.*" Who would guess that *μῶν* here is not the interrogative particle, but the last syllable of *ὑμῶν*? Countless instances might be adduced of the unhappy results of rigid adherence to this purely mechanical rule. Analogous infelicities are due to the determination that every word shall find its place in the vocabulary exactly as it occurs in its line, no regard being paid to the accidental modifications it may have undergone in consequence of the influence of its immediate neighbors. If one should desire to ascertain what forms of the verb *ἐκπίνω* were employed by Aristophanes, the information could not be gained from this concordance, unless one should happen to think that *καί* might be combined with it, and so look for *κάκπιόμαι*. Similarly, to learn the forms of *βουλεύω* which occur we must not miss *ἀβουλεύσαμεν* on the first page; for the usage of *ἐκκλησία* we must not fail to find three instances of its occurrence under *ἡκκλησία* and nine more under *τήκκλησίᾳ*. A verb like *ἐρχομαι* must probably, when once the system of the ordinary lexicons is abandoned, involve more or less trouble; but one would not expect to find one of its forms between *λήψομαι* and *λίαν*; and yet it stands there in the shape of *᾽λθου*. We find one of the forms of *ἀγαθός* under *τύχ'ἀγαθῇ*, and another under *ὦγαθέ*. To learn completely the Aristophanic employment of *ἔρρειν* we must find *ῥρήσεθ'*; of *ἐσθίω*, we must look out *᾽σθι*. These instances, which might be added to indefinitely, will suffice to show to how great an extent the plan adopted by Dr. Dunbar, and so faithfully carried out, must interfere with the usefulness of his work. In the preface to his Concordance to the *Odyssey* he tells us, among other things, that "words of the same lettering, but of different meaning, are kept apart, as *θεός*, a god, *θεός*, a goddess; *παῖδα*, a son, *παῖδα*, a daughter." In the present work he has not observed this rule, but has neglected it even in some cases where it would appear highly desirable that it should be adhered to. For instance, under *πλεῖν* there are eighteen citations, in thirteen of which the word is the comparative (*πλείον*), and in five, which are mixed indiscriminately with the others, it is the infinitive of *πλέω*. The compiler appears also to have followed his copy (Dindorf's Oxford edition of 1835) with too scrupulous an exactness. We find, for example, on p. 125, "*ἔχεν*. Α. 791, *καὶ κίνα τιν' ἔ*," and that this is not merely a misprint is shown by the fact that under *κίνα*, on p. 179, the same mistake

occurs. On p. 239 we find between *παρ'* and *παρά* "*πάρ'*", Ex. 700, *αὐτῆς π. ἐμοί*," which was probably a misprint in Dindorf's text faithfully reproduced here.

The faults discernible in this book are due to the exact carrying out of a plan originally unfortunate, and to the failure to exercise an independent judgment upon the text which was used as its basis. But the execution of the book itself is nearly, if not quite, perfect. Of the many references examined, not a single erroneous citation has been detected. A few words, indeed, are omitted; but there can be no doubt that the phraseology of Aristophanes is made accessible to the student by this concordance to a degree which leaves very little to be desired.

C. D. MORRIS.

Bifrun's Uebersetzung des Neuen Testaments (Vorworte, Ev. Matthaei, Ev. Marci). Pp. vi, 199, small 8vo. Herausgegeben von JAKOB ULRICH. Halle, Niemeyer, 1883.

For several years past, some of the best Romance scholars have been zealously working to throw light upon the language and literature of the Rhaetian people. Extracts from the old sixteenth and seventeenth century literature, grammatical treatises, vocabularies and collections of folk lore have been published in rapid succession, but the student was not supplied with full working materials covering the whole history of this set of Romance dialects, until the publication, in 1882, of Dr. Ulrich's *Rhaetoromanische Chrestomathie* in two octavo volumes, with glossary and notes (Niemeyer). Prof. Boehmer, of Strassburg, the leader in these studies in Europe, has given us, in the *Romanische Studien*, many rare and valuable works from his rich library of Rhaetian texts, but they could not be drawn upon to show the connected and peculiar growth of the entire body of Rhaetoromance literature. In the philology of the language, on the other hand, Ascoli's celebrated treatise, *Studii Ladini*, could not be used with solid profit by the student without having at his command some of the sources from which the materials were taken for the author's exhaustive treatment of the phonetic system. It is to supply both of these serious needs that the editor of the Bifrun translation has begun the publication of a series of original works, in five volumes, under the general title *Rhaetoromanische Texte*, the second volume of which now lies before us and represents the Upper Engadine dialect. The first number of this important collection contains the chief literary monuments of the Nidwald dialect; the third will reproduce Chiampel's *Psalter* (1562) in the Lower Engadine idiom, while the fourth will give us Stephan Gabriel's well-known *Ver Sulaz* (1612) in the Obwald language. In the fifth volume we are to have a grammar based upon the foregoing texts, a glossary for the whole, and a special treatment, for the first time, of the science of word-building for all Rhaetian dialects.

The oldest printed work, but one, in Rhaetian, is this translation by Bifrun, in 1560, of the New Testament into the Ober-Engadine idiom, with the title "*L'g Nuof Sainc Testament da nos Signer IESV CHRISTI. Prais our delg Latin & our d'oters launguax & huossa da noef mis in Arumaunsch, très Iachiam Bifrun d'Agnedina. Sschquischo (Poschiavo) ilg an 1560.*" We have

a second edition of the same brought out in 1607 by Luzi Papa, one of the bright lights of Early Rhaetian literature. A short introduction by Filip Saluz (commonly known as Philippus Gallizius, the Rhaetian Luther), a letter from Erasmus bearing upon the version, and an interesting preface by the author, touching the difficulties of translation into so unstable a language as his vernacular, serve to prepare the reader for the now free, now literal, and oftentimes peculiar rendition of the original. The author probably made use of Sebastian Castalion's Latin Bible, published at Bâle in 1556. In his annotations that follow each chapter we discover the zealous reformer, and those striking characteristics of mind which, as a jurist and theologian, naturally made him a special friend of Zwingli. The editor has given us here, as indicated above, the gospel according to St. Matthew and St. Mark only, and it was his intention that it should be a faithful reprint, but numerous misprints have crept into it, which were almost unavoidable in a work of this sort, and a list of them with the necessary corrections is, therefore, very properly added at the end of the volume. But besides these we find a series of text emendations, of which a part are superfluous, and another part out of place. If the original is faithfully reproduced, we have its list of corrections that are sufficient without adding them *de novo*, and the second class *gegen das original* might be worth considering as suggestions for textual criticism, but they injure the individuality of the work when they are thus introduced into the body of it and substituted for the primitive readings. The language itself of the translation represents that plastic stage of linguistic development that is so marked in the celebrated Musso-War epic, the author of which, Gian Travers, died only three years after the first edition of this New Testament version was published. At this time the Ladinian was considered, if not the oldest, certainly the purest dialect of the Rhaetian language, and hence graphic signs to represent its phonetic system were naturally invented here first and transmitted to the sister idioms, and the earliest printed works also in the Rhaetian were executed for this dialect species. The typographical workmanship of this volume is well done, and especially the various diacritical signs of the dialect are given with a precision that is highly creditable to the celebrated house that has published it.

A. M. ELLIOTT.

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*Studia Terentiana.* SCR. AUG. GODFR. ENGELBRECHT. Vienna, 1883. 90 pp.

This interesting treatise is mainly concerned with a comparison of Plautus and Terence in respect to their use of forms. Many of the single points taken up have already been treated with more or less fulness, but nowhere have the differences been so skillfully grouped together or presented in so striking a light. Starting out with the uniform testimony of the ancients to the purity of Terence's diction, which was held to be quite worthy of a Scipio or a Laelius, the writer proceeds to show that very many vulgar and archaic forms used by Plautus were distinctly avoided by Terence, and that in not a few instances the critics have indiscreetly thrust into the text forms which were actually foreign to the later poet. Moreover, he is careful to point out that the difference between the two poets is one not simply of age, but of mental attitude. Terence was a conscious artist in words. He aimed to represent as far as was



possible, for the purposes of comedy, the language of the cultivated circle in which he moved. He avowedly lays claim to *pura oratio*. His standard in so far as was higher than that of Plautus, and whatever may have been the loss in comic power, there is a distinct gain in urbanity. So Terence in many points seems to anticipate, as it were, the usage of Cicero, while his contemporaries, poets of coarser mould, keep closer to Plautus.

A summary of the results reached by the investigation is given on pp. 75-9. Of these we can only mention a few. Terence has no ablatives in *-d*, no genitives in *ai*, no nominative plurals of *-o* stems in *-is*, no futures of the third conjugation like *reddibo*. He avoids forms like *med*, *ted*, *mis*, *tis*, *ibus*, *hibus*, *danunt*, *homōnis*, *simitu*, *interibi*, *dehibeo*, *præhibeo*, *baetere* (despite Leo, *Rheinisches Museum*, XXXVIII, p. 24). Moreover, Engelbrecht disputes the right of the following forms to be considered as Terentian: *puere* (Fleckeisen, *Eun.* 624), *itere* (Bentley, *Phorm.* 566), *sortis* as nominative (Fleckeisen, *And.* 985), *isti* and *illi* as genitives (Brandt, *Eun.* 370, *Phorm.* 969, etc.), *sini* = *sivi* (Fleckeisen, *And.* 188), *earumpse* (Leo, *Rheinisches Museum*, XXXVIII 11), *poste* = *post* (Fleckeisen, *And.* 483). In many cases, forms which are constantly used by Plautus are very rarely used by Terence, sometimes only in particular formulas, or in certain places in the verse. It is an interesting observation (p. 54) that in the common form of curse, *di te perduint* (*perdant*), even in Plautus, the form in *-int* only occurs at the end of a verse, or of the first half of an iambic octonarius, while elsewhere *perdant* is regularly used. Hence, in *Hec.* 134 there is no need with Bentley and Fleckeisen to change *perduint* to *faxint*, since *perdant* satisfies both metre and the common usage. Plautus is much more free than Terence in his use of active forms of verbs usually deponent in the later language. On the other hand, strange as it may seem, the number of syncopated perfect forms like *dixti*, *intellexti*, *produx*, is greater in the six plays of Terence than in the twenty plays of Plautus, and this syncopation must be set down as a characteristic of the *sermo urbanus* (*familiaris*), so that we need not be surprised to find it in the letters and orations of Cicero. Engelbrecht should have extended this comparison to other contract-forms like *decreerat* (*And.* 238), *norit*, *norat*, etc. Terence, for instance, has some forty contract-forms in the different tenses of *nosco*, while the certain examples in Plautus are comparatively few, as has been shown by Brix in his appendix to the edition of *Trinummus*, v. 1141. The adverbs in *-ter* like *firmiter*, of which Plautus has more than Terence, should have received some attention. In treating of *posthac*, it might not have been amiss to add a fact which hitherto seems to have escaped notice, that just as *antea*, which only occurs *And.* 52, is used at the end of the verse, so *postea* always occupies the same position, while in Plautus it is found most frequently, to be sure, at the end of a verse, but also at the beginning and within a verse.

In an appendix, Engelbrecht shows that in the use of the verb-forms in *-ris* and *-re*, while Plautus has thirty cases, in two hundred, of the fuller forms in *-ris*, Terence has fifty-six cases of forms in *-re* and none in *-ris*. The concluding sentence of the writer leads us to hope that we may sometime expect from him a discussion of the differences between Plautus and Terence in vocabulary, syntax and prosody. The materials for such a work are very rich, and a careful study of them cannot fail to elicit results both valuable and interesting.

M. WARREN.

Altfranzösische Bibliothek, herausgegeben von DR. WENDELIN FOERSTER.  
Heilbronn, Henninger. 1883.

Zweiter Band: Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel.  
Ein altfranzösisches Heldengedicht, herausgegeben von E. Koschwitz.

The first edition of this curious poem was published in 1836 by Francisque Michel; later, several copies were taken from the only MS in the British Museum (King's Lib. 16 E, VIII), but in 1879 this MS was lost and has not yet been found. In 1880 a new edition was published by E. Koschwitz, who had previously contributed to the literature of this epic, especially by his publication of six Cymric and Norse versions of the same. This edition met with such approval that after only three years it has become necessary to bring out a new edition, in which the editor has turned to account the suggestions made by his critics. Opposite the critical text we have this time a diplomatic reprint in full; in the concordance all the other versions known have been taken into consideration, and a complete glossary has been added. With reference to two important points the editor's opinion has undergone a complete change since the publication of the first edition; in the critical text he has substituted the *Île de France* dialect for the Norman, making at the same time the transcription much more uniform; and in regard to the age of the poem he is less certain than formerly, calling it no more an "Old French poem of the XIth century," but simply an "Old French epic."

Sechster Band: Das altfranzösische Rolandslied. Text von Chateauroux und Venedig VII. Herausgegeben von Wendelin Foerster.

The millennium will soon come for the ambitious student of the *Chanson de Roland*; exact reprints of all the French versions in existence will enable him to take an active part in the critical restoration of the text without going back to the MSS. We have such a diplomatic edition of the Venice MS IV, edited by E. Koelbing, 1877, one of the Oxford MS, Digby 23, edited by E. Stengel, also a photographic facsimile reproduction of the same codex. In the present volume, W. Foerster gives us the MS of Chateauroux (formerly at Versailles), and the MS VII of Venice; and another volume, which is soon to follow, will bring us the MSS of Paris, Cambridge and Lyons, also the so-called Lorraine fragment, and a tabular synopsis of the contents of each chapter in the various French MSS, and in those High-German, Low-German and Norse versions which can be at all used in textual criticism. Under these circumstances it may be hoped that we shall soon have a critical edition worthy of the great epic.

In regard to the whole series it is to be remarked that the original plan has been extended; subsidiary works are in preparation, as, for instance, an Old French grammar and an Old French dictionary, for both of which there is great need, and it is to be desired that a handbook of French antiquities and a history of Old French literature will also be added.

H. C. G. V. JAGEMANN.

OTTO RIBBECK. *Emendationum Mercatoris Plautinae Spicilegium.* Leipzig, Edelmann, 1883. 32 pp.

As the Plautus literature grows from year to year it becomes more and more difficult for the general student of Latin to keep up with it, and yet nothing is

more quickening than to watch the progress made in the study of early Latin, to which Ritschl and his followers have given so great an impetus. New light is constantly being thrown upon problems of syntax and etymology. New words which will not find a place in our dictionaries for many years to come, are constantly being ferreted out of corrupt manuscripts, and fortified by the evidence of glossaries and scholia. In this field Ribbeck has long been an active worker, and has already gathered many sheaves. The spicilegium before us discusses questions connected with the text of the Mercator. Some fragments of Philemon are assigned with good reason to the original of Plautus, and compared with similar passages in the Mercator. The hand of the reviser is plainly pointed out in not a few places. Verse 149 is cast out along with vv. 150-65, already challenged by Ritschl, and v. 615 is expelled in company with vv. 620-4; vv. 373-5 are but a repetition of vv. 369-72, and their spurious origin is confirmed by their place in the MSS after v. 389. The reasons given for eliminating vv. 493 and 494 do not seem sufficient. Nothing could be more natural than for Eutychus to repeat the question which Charinus has before evaded. The patchwork character of the prologue had already been pointed out, and Ribbeck tries to explain how it was put together. The original pieces were vv. 1-2, 7-11, 40-6, 56-110, the others were tacked on afterward by different hands. Verses 269 f., 246, 610, 845-9, 861, 805-17 are obelized for various reasons. Cases where confusion in the MSS has arisen from *homocarcia* or *homocotelenia* are treated on pp. 14-18; cases where some slight changes are required in the distribution of the rolls, on pp. 18-21. Ribbeck then proposes several emendations of the text, which are clever and ingenious, if not always convincing. In vv. 239 and 241 he reads, following B., *ambed edesse* and *ambed ederit*, and finds in *ambed* a form similar to *anted*, *posted*, *red*, *prod*, etc. In v. 882, for *religionem ilicobecit* of B, he proposes *religionem mi hic obiecit*. In v. 80 ff., keeping much more closely to the MSS than previous editors, he would read

Ego me invisum meo patri esse intellego  
Atque odio esse ei quod placere aequum fuit  
Amens amansque sic animum offirmo meum.

V. 312, where A has *amando enices* and B *amando hic ē*, he restores thus, *Lysimache auctor sum ut me dmputando hic enices*. Very tempting is the reading proposed for v. 195, where B has *subt'atius nequiquam mare subterfugi a tantis tempestdtibus*. In v. 197 *iterum* and *med* are to be read; in v. 198, *loquere actutum*; *quid fit porro?*

Worthy of note also are *superatrix* proposed for v. 842, where Goetz reads *spectatrix*, Ussing *imperatrix* (*speratrix*, BCD); *concepit* (*i. e. ccepit*) for *coepit* in v. 533; *exemi* for *eripui* in v. 341, and finally the excellent emendation of v. 677, where B has *da sane hanc virgam lauriabit vintro* DOR. *eo*, Ribbeck reads *da sane hanc virgam lauri*. <SY. habeto.> DOR. *abi tu intro*. SY. *eo*.

In v. 524 Ribbeck proposes to read *auratam* for the unintelligible *ancillam*. In the Notes of this number we have tried to establish the reading *Apulam*.

M. WARREN.

## REPORTS.

Englische Studien. Herausgegeben von Dr. EUGEN KÖLBING. IV Band.  
Heilbronn, 1881.

I.—The first paper, by E. Stengel, is an attempt to arrange Shakespeare's Sonnets according to a consistent plan. The order proposed by Massey is rejected, since it depends upon fanciful hypotheses and appeals to purely subjective criteria. That sonnets were arranged in series long before those of Shakespeare were published, and during the years when he must have been engaged in their composition, is proved by a glance at the collections of Watson, Daniel, Barnfield, and Griffin. In Watson's *Tears of Fancie*, published in 1593, the sonnets are arranged in strict sequence, and in fact form the stanzas of a complete poem. Daniel, whom Shakespeare condescended to imitate, arranged certain of the sonnets in his *Delia* in a regular series, those in question being Nos. 34-40 inclusive. For the convenience of his readers, Stengel has quoted the last-mentioned sonnets *in extenso* in an appendix to his article. Griffin's example is of less importance, since he seems to have followed in the footsteps of Daniel. Barnfield's sonnets are remarkable for being addressed, like the first 126 of Shakespeare, to a single individual, and that not a woman, but a man.

The second edition of Shakespeare's sonnets appeared in 1640; it possesses no title to authority, but it is significant that a new arrangement was already deemed necessary, though only thirty-one years had elapsed since the issue of the *editio princeps*. As no single clue will lead us through the confusion of the sonnets in the edition of 1609, the query naturally arises whether Shakespeare did not originally design to compose a series in the manner of his contemporaries. This suspicion is confirmed by the observation that certain smaller groups, containing from two to nine sonnets each, are easily made out in the general body of Shakespeare's collection, as has already been done by Delius in his edition of 1864.

Stengel admits that the order proposed by himself is open to criticism, but is convinced that the sonnets somehow compose a series. He assumes that the twenty-sixth sonnet is to be regarded as the dedication, and that the Earl of Southampton is at once Shakespeare's patron and the friend who is repeatedly addressed. Accordingly, these compositions would belong to a date intermediate between those of the *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, that is, soon after 1592, in which year Daniel's sonnets were given to the world. The proposed arrangement is as follows, though without the analyses which the author has subjoined to the numbers. The series includes only sonnets 1 to 126. No. 26 is the dedicatory sonnet, as above stated, and the order of the others is 1, 4, 8, 7, 11, 3, 5, 6, 2, 9, 10, 12, 20, 14, 13, 15, 16, 17, 59, 106, 53, 105, 54, 104, 81, 55, 64, 19, 63, 65, 60, 107, 18, 126, 108, 77, 122, 100, 101, 38, 23, 73, 74, 32, 39, 78, 79, 82, 21, 76, 103, 83, 85, 80, 86, 71, 72, 102, 84,

58, 57, 67, 68, 123, 66, 116, 115, 124, 25, 29, 30, 31, 37, 125, 91, 92, 93, 94, 69, 70, 33, 34, 35, 95, 96, 40, 41, 42, 36, 87, 50, 51, 27, 28, 43, 61, 62, 22, 24, 46, 47, 44, 45, 97, 98, 99, 48, 49, 88, 89, 90, 109, 117, 110, 121, 111, 112, 75, 52, 113, 114, 118, 119, 120, 56.

The second appendix contains Barnfield's sonnets, reprinted from the first edition of 1595. As Grosart printed only fifty copies of a new edition, Stengel has laid students and lovers of English literature under an obligation by this reprint. The spelling Grossart occurs four times instead of Grosart. Unfortunately it must be said that the pages of this journal are frequently disfigured by annoying blunders, not a few of which must be due to the ignorance or carelessness of authors, since by no stretch of ingenuity can the type-setters be made responsible for all.

R. Boyle contributes a scholarly paper on Shakespeare and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. He believes Fletcher to have written the following portions, namely, all of the Second Act, Scenes 3, 4, 5, and 6 of the Third Act, Scenes 1 and 2 of the Fourth Act, and Scenes 1 and 2 of the Fifth Act, with the exception of the first 18 lines of V 1.

Regarding the authorship of the remaining portion, the author thus sums up the results of his investigation: "The metrical style of our drama will not enable us to decide between Shakespeare, Massinger, and Beaumont, and in no way militates against the assumption that a third dramatist was engaged upon it. Shakespeare could not have been a collaborator, since the characters do not unfold themselves in his manner through a process of natural growth, nor do they exhibit any marked individuality. The metrical style points rather to Massinger than to Beaumont. The whole spirit of the play, but especially the political allusions, belong to a later period than that of Beaumont's activity. The women are such as Massinger was accustomed to draw, and no longer what they were in Beaumont's time. The transports of admiration with which the heroes are overwhelmed by the other characters are a trait peculiar to Massinger. The mad scenes resemble those of Massinger in *A Very Woman*. The numerous imitations of Shakespeare, while they forbid us to ascribe the play to him, are quite in the manner of Massinger. The number of classical allusions is another confirmation of the theory. Finally, the rhythm of the more elevated passages may be as confidently attributed to Massinger as to Shakespeare."

Boyle includes Mr. Fleay and Mr. Furnivall in a polemic directed against Mr. Hickson, the originator of the theory that the drama is the joint production of Shakespeare and Fletcher. He admits that the case is not closed, but expects that closer study of Massinger will remove all doubts.

W. Sattler, *Zur Englischen Grammatik*, IV. This article discusses the use of *no* and *not* before comparatives, and quotes a multitude of examples from Shakespeare, Addison, Johnson, Goldsmith, Jane Austen, Macaulay and various modern writers, but arrives at no result commensurate with the labor expended.

F. H. Stratmann offers several emendations of Middle English authors. The works in question are *Sainte Marherete*, *pe lifade of St. Juliana*, *Hali Maidenhad*, *Early English poems and lives of Saints VIII*, *Lazamon*, *The Story of Genesis and Exodus*, *Old English Miscellany*, and *William of Palerne*.



This is followed by a few notes on Middle English Phonology, containing examples of *a* for *e*, *o* for *eo*, and *a* for *ea*.

G. Wendt considers The Treatment of English Prepositions in the Real-schule of the first class. He advocates greater thoroughness in the teaching of English, and offers his paper as a specimen of the work done by himself in upper *secunda*. Professing to follow Mätzner, he illustrates various uses of the prepositions *of*, *off*, *in*, and *at* by a good selection of examples, obtained at first hand from English books.

The Book Notices begin with a review of Vol. II of The Folk-Lore Record, by Felix Liebrecht. Heyne's fourth edition of *Beowulf* is noticed by Oscar Brenner, who proposes an edition in uniform orthography. The second edition of Earle's Book for the beginner in Anglo-Saxon is appropriately condemned by Brenner. A short criticism by K. Maurer of my extracts from the Anglo-Saxon Laws closes this department.

Criticisms of Lehr- und Uebungsbücher für die englische Sprache occupy pp. 142-79.

The Programmschau touches upon nothing of special interest. The department of Miscellanea has an extended obituary notice of Wilhelm Wagner, accompanied by a bibliography of his works. The Zeitschriftenschau has full or partial tables of contents of the following periodicals: *Anglia*, Bd. III, Heft 3; *Herrig's Archiv*, Bd. LXIII, Heft 3 und 4; and *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. I, No. 1.

II.—The number begins with an elaborate study by M. Kaluža, entitled The Middle English Poem, William of Palerne, and its French source. The French romance, Guillaume de Palerne, was composed about the end of the 12th century; this was done into English by a minstrel, named William, somewhere near the year 1350. The English poem, which exists in a MS of King's College Library, Cambridge, has been twice published, by Madden for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1832, and by Skeat for the E. E. T. S., London, 1867. No one has yet undertaken a detailed comparison of the original and the English version, though ten Brink's statements in his *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*, p. 419 et seq., are in the main to be depended upon. The scope of his investigation is indicated by the author at the outset. He undertakes to determine the points of view from which we are to explain the deviations of the paraphrase from its original. These comprise such differences as those of language, metre, and audience, account being also made of such changes as flow from design or poetic idiosyncrasy.

The slighter variations, dependent upon the difference of language and metre, are first illustrated by examples; the author then proceeds to examine the more important modifications, under the heads of manner and matter respectively. The former includes such changes as are made in the interest of a more logical sequence, for the purpose of supplying a missing *motif*, or in general for the sake of clearness, together with such as arise from adding picturesque details and from occasional transposition.

Under the latter rubric are classed the omission of unimportant or unintelligible portions, and the abridgment of passages descriptive of festivities,

costumes, battles, the sentiment of love, etc. To compensate his hearers for these losses, the paraphrast has dwelt lovingly on most of the episodes, on descriptions of natural scenery, on the pleasures of the table, and the portrayal of individual characters. The scheme thus laid down is carried through with great circumstantiality, until we are at last confronted with the query whether these variations are to be attributed to the English translation or belong to an intermediate French version which is no longer in existence. This question is unhesitatingly and conclusively answered by attributing the changes to the translator. In conclusion, after adducing the opinion of ten Brink, with whom the writer is in substantial accord, he adds: "He (*i. e.* William the Minstrel) is a clever narrator, who has made a happy choice of alliterative verse, has retained the fable of the poem unchanged, while yet exhibiting considerable originality in the handling of individual scenes; and, what is of greater consequence, has known how to adapt the poem to the taste and spiritual horizon of his countrymen, and thus to acquit himself of the self-imposed task as well as his circumstances, and the century in which he lived, would permit." An appendix contains emendations of Michelant's Guillaume de Palerne and Skeat's William of Palerne.

Hermann Fischer, *Zur Geschichte der Aussprache des Englischen*. This is a short notice of Georg Rudolf Weckherlin's 'Triumphall Shevvs set forth lately at Stuttgart: written first in German, and now in English,' and printed at Stuttgart in 1616.

F. H. Stratmann, *Zur Mittlenglischen Grammatik*. A brief note upon neuter *a*-stems which take a paragogic *e* in Middle English.

R. Thum continues, as the second part of a program printed in 1879, a series of Notes on Macaulay's History. The method adopted is a commendable one, and likely to prove useful to the advanced students for whom the notes are designed. Macaulay's writings are laid under contribution to furnish illustrations of the particular word or phrase which the annotator selects for comment. The following may serve as an example: "*improvement*. Das grosse Wort der Engländer, insbesondere der Liberals, I. 97; they are always pressing forward, disposed to think lightly of the risks and inconveniences which attend improvement, and disposed to give every change credit for being an improvement." So under *moral improvement* the writer remarks: "In order to understand the English word 'moral,' or indeed the English conception of life, we must not forget that the English, since they have always been freer in a political sense, are accustomed to consider themselves under stricter obligations to morality than is the case with continental peoples, and that morality plays much the same rôle in English society as honor formerly did in knightly circles."

In the Book Notices, Alfred Stern's Milton and his Times is reviewed by J. Caro. This is followed by shorter notices of Schaffner's Lord Byron's Cain and its sources, Katterfeld's Roger Ascham, his Life and Works, Koch's Select Minor Poems of Chaucer (translation), Bennewitz's Chaucer's Sir Thopas, Klint's Account of Chaucer's translation of the Romaunt of the Rose, which is pronounced worthless by Lindner, and Herford's and Widgery's Essays on the First Quarto Edition of Hamlet. Modern American Lyrics, a volume of 308

pp., edited by Karl Knortz and Otto Dickman, is welcomed with enthusiasm by David Asher.

There is the usual list of Lehr- und Übungsbücher für die Englische Sprache, and one of University Lectures on English Philology. These are followed by reports on Herrig's Archiv, Bd LXVI, Heft 1 und 2; Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, 1880, Nos. 7-12; Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 1 Jahrgang; and The American Journal of Philology, Vol I, Nos. 2 and 3.

III.—Dryden's Theory of the Drama is the title of a paper by F. Bobertag. It consists of little more than an analysis of Dryden's Essay of Dramatick Poesy and of the preface to his Troilus and Cressida. The chief reason for undertaking an exposition of the poet's views is stated to lie in the fact "that Dryden is one of the first modern poets in whose work there is any manifestation of theory as existing in and for itself,—as an independent power, so to speak."

R. Thum continues his Notes on Macaulay's History. These notes, though written for Germans, contain material, at least, which might be useful to analytical students of English anywhere.

The Question of the English Essay in *Realprima* is ably handled by W. Münch. Recognizing the inability of the teacher to familiarize his class sufficiently with English idiom to insure a masterly use of English, he concludes that the essay to which the scholar should devote himself with all his might is the German essay. The assignment of this to the chief place should not, in his opinion, be accounted a grievance by any department, by that of modern languages as little as any other.

The Book Notices contain reviews of Körner's Einleitung in das Studium des Angelsächsischen, Grein's Kurzgefasste angelsächsische Grammatik, the new edition of Müller's Etymologisches Wörterbuch der englischen Sprache, Würzner's Ueber Chaucer's lyrische Gedichte, Doehn's Aus dem amerikanischen Dichterwald, McCarthy's History of our own Times, and Wülcker's Altenglisches Lesebuch.

Brenner's review of Grein's Grammatik is noteworthy as containing a catalogue of Old English Glosses. The most readable of these articles is Hopp's notice of Doehn's Sketches of American Poets, which contains more than one striking and just observation. The criticism of Wülcker's Reader extends over 33 pages, and concludes as follows: "Whether the author finds all my strictures justifiable and all my emendations and explanations acceptable or not, I hope at least to have convinced him that the first part in particular requires thorough revision before it can be presented to our fellow-workers in America."

The Literary Notices call attention to Schmitz's Encyklopädie des philologischen Studiums der neueren Sprachen, a new edition of Mätzner's Englische Grammatik, and Heyne's Übungsstücke zur Laut- und Flexionslehre der altgermanischen Dialecte.

The Reviews of text-books and the Miscellanea are omitted by the editor for lack of space.

ALBERT S. COOK.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. XXXVII  
Band. 1883.

I Heft.

D. H. Müller offers contributions to South-Arabian epigraphy, in the form of criticisms of the *Études sur l'Épigraphie de Yemen* of Joseph and Hartwig Derenbourg (*Journ. Asiat.*, Avril-Mai-Juin, 1882), and of H. Derenbourg's article on Himyaritic proper names (*Revue des Études Juives*, 1880, p. 56). The inscription Hal. 349, which Halévy makes a curiously irregular bustrophedon of 13 lines, and Derenbourg a regular one of 7 lines, he rearranges into 4 bustrophedon lines, without, however, bringing out a very clear sense. Inscript. Hal. 174, he refers שָׁכַן to שְׁכָנָה, from the stem שָׁכַן (שִׁכַּן), and renders "amelioration." He agrees with Derenbourg that הִלֵּךְ is sometimes not a preposition ("after"), but a substantive, = "province," but maintains that, when it has this latter sense, it does not form an external plural, and therefore הִלְכֵי cannot be taken as substantive. Derenbourg makes much of the Inscript. Osiand. 35 ("Ilsarh Yahdib and Ya'zil Bayyin, kings of Saba and Raidan, sons of Fari, Yanhab, king of Saba"), as showing that Fari was the last king of the second period, just preceding the division of the kingdom, which was occasioned by the campaign of Aelius Gallus; Müller points out that he had already drawn this conclusion from the inscription (in his *Burgen*, II 44), only with the doubtfulness which the absence of further material makes proper.

The article of Hartwig Derenbourg above-mentioned attempts to show, from a comparison between Sabean and biblical proper names, that the Sabaeans borrowed from the Jews (who were numerous and influential in southern Arabia B. C. 200-525) not only many proper names, but also the north Semitic principle (unknown to the south Semitic dialects) of forming compound proper names. To this view Müller objects that some of D.'s Sabean names are misread, and some of his biblical names not Hebrew, but Edomite or Aramaic; that in a corrected list of corresponding names the laws of phonetic interchange between the two languages are strictly observed, which would hardly be the case if one people had borrowed from the other; and that, so far from its being true that compound proper names are unknown to the south Semitic tongues, they abound in Arabic and Ethiopic. The last objection is well taken, and we cannot well suppose that the Sabaeans borrowed the principle of forming compound names. Whether they borrowed individual names from the Jews (a thing in itself not unlikely) must be determined from a wider study of the inscriptions. Müller remarks that the agreement in names in the two languages is to be explained from the elements of the primitive Semitic speech inherited by both, but that there is no ground to suppose that very early (prehistoric or historic) intercourse has brought Hebrew nearer to south Arabic than to north Arabic. The first part of this statement is altogether probable; the second part opens a question which can be answered only by more ancient documents than have yet been found among the inscriptions of Saba.

In the *Zeitschrift* of 1878 E. Nestle published a linguistic treatise of Jacob of Edessa, and in connection with it addressed two questions to the classical philologists. The first was: from what Greek word did Jacob take his Syriac term, which means literally "preparation of the word," and, from the connection, must signify "derivation"? To this Professor G. Hoffmann, of Kiel,

answered immediately that it was *ἐτυμολογία*, which Jacob understood and translated as *ἐτοιμολογία*. The other question relates to Jacob's etymology of the Greek *θεός*, which he says comes "from running, or from seeing, or from burning." The "running" and "seeing" Nestle connected with *θεῖν* and *θεῖσθαι*, but could get no appropriate word for "burning." He has now found this in a Greek poem by Johannes Euchaitorum Metropolitae (edition of (Studemund-) Bollig-Lagarde, 1882, p. ix), which reads: *θεὸς . . . δοκεῖ θεῖν . . . θεῖται τὴν κρίσιν . . . αἶθει τε πᾶν ῥύπασμα*. It is still, however, not clear whence Jacob and the bishop John got these etymologies.<sup>1</sup>

Other articles in this number are: Die Einleitung des Mahābhāṣhya, übersetzt von O. A. Danielsson. Das altindische Ākhyāna, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Suparṇākhyāna, von H. Oldenberg. Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften, von G. Bühler. Lösung eines Räthsels im Veda, von R. Roth. Sāh Ṭahmāsp I und seine Denkwürdigkeiten, von F. Teufel.

Book notices: Tomasczek's Centralasiatische Studien, by Wilhelm Geiger. Hillebrandt's Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, by B. Lindner. Bartholomae's Arische Forschungen, by the same. Dieterici's Theologie des Aristoteles (Arabic translation of some unknown, probably Neo-Platonic Greek work, ascribed by the Arabs to Aristotle), by W. Ahlwardt. Robinson's Persian Poetry, by W. Bacher.

This number contains also part of the annual bibliographical report or review of the literature: Malay-Polynesian, by H. Kern. Abesianian, by F. Praetorius. Syriac (including Mandaean, the Sinaitic inscriptions, etc.), by F. Baethgen; and Sanskrit, by J. Klatt.

## II Heft.

In continuation of his former papers (see Vol. 36 of the Zeitschrift), A. Socin communicates a number of proverbial and other expressions in the Arabic dialect of Mōṣul and Mārdīn. They are given in Roman transcription as they were taken down from the mouths of the natives, and also in Arabic characters. In some cases Socin has found a phrase written in Arabic, and he then allows this written form to stand alongside of his transcription, though the two may differ somewhat.

David Kaufmann, of Budapest, gives a study of the curious medieval scientific (philosophical-religious) Hebrew, in the form of remarks on Ibn Tibbon's translation of Saadia's Introduction to his Kitāb al-amānāt wa al-i'tikādāt (Hebrew, Sefer ha. emūnōth wa. ha. dē'ōth), "Treatise on the articles of faith." Jehuda ben Shaul, called Ibn Tibbon, is the first-known and best-known of the host of translators who, from the 12th century on (perhaps earlier), occupied themselves with turning Arabic-written books into Hebrew, and his translation of Saadia's important work is a mine of information respecting the language and theology of his time. Kaufmann, confining himself to the Introduction,

<sup>1</sup> Plat. Cratyl. 397 D: ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς φύσεως τῆς τοῦ θεῖν θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσαι (φαίνονται). Macrob. 1, 23: θεοὺς enim dicunt sidera et stellas ἀπὸ τοῦ θεῖν id est τρέχειν quod semper in cursu sint ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεωρεῖσθαι. With the derivation of θεός from αἶθω compare Posidonius' derivation of δαίμων, ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιομένου id est καιομένου. Macrob. 1, c. B. L. G.



corrects the Hebrew text with the aid of two MSS, and compares the translation with the Arabic original. His opinion of Ibn Tibbon is, on the whole, favorable—he thinks him no pedant or forcer of language, but a generally faithful, though often paraphrastic and unintelligent, translator.

Other articles: Bābur und Abū'l-faẓl, by F. Teufel. Die Seelen des Mittelreichs im Parsismus, by R. Roth. Zur Erklärung des Avesta, by C. de Harlez. Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften, by G. Bühler. W. Bacher makes an addendum to his article on Abulwalid, *Zeitschrift* 36, 406. Julius Jolly writes from Benares of the establishment of a Manuscript library in that city. Professor Wm. Wright, of Cambridge, England, asks for information concerning manuscripts of the following works, editions of which he is preparing: the Naḳā'id of Garīr and al-Farazdaq, the Dīwān of Garīr, and the Dīwān of al-Aḥṭal.

There is a favorable notice of Max Müller's "Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature," by Ernst Leumann; and Chr. Bartholomae has a remark on F. Ch. Andreas's "The book of the Mainyo-i-Khard."

The report on Sanskrit for the preceding year, by J. Klatt, is finished, and E. Kautzsch furnishes the report on Hebrew, Old Testament exegesis, biblical theology, and the history of Israel.

C. H. Toy.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. 8th series, Tome I. 1883.

Février-Mars.

Charles Clermont-Ganneau communicates a number of seals, Israelite, Phœnician, and Syrian, together with several unedited Phœnician inscriptions, and two Cypriote intaglios—a preliminary account of a large collection he has been making for many years, a full discussion of which he announces his intention of publishing. The seals contain a simple name, or the name with patronymic or name of husband, or the name with or without such addition preceded by the Lamed of ownership, or the name followed by the word עֶבֶר, "servant" (that is, the client of a great personage), or the name preceded by חֶסֶם, "seal" (this formula, according to the author, is especially Aramean-Persian), or the name preceded by לִזְכָּר, "in memory of" (probably Israelitish), and sometimes, though rarely, the indication of the use to which the gem was put. Clermont-Ganneau discusses the engraved words briefly, and calls attention to the forms of the letters. Among the noteworthy terms are the apparently divine names Koh or Kohbin (No. 20) and Molokram (No. 34); the latter is formed like Abram, the former is obscure. Among the inscriptions are two (29, 30) which seem to be Greek. The legends furnish no historical material.

The inscriptions recently discovered at Palmyra by Prince Abamelek Lazarew are explained by de Vogüé (his communication was made to the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Nov. 3, 1882). The most important of these is a bilingual (Aramaic-Greek) of the 8 Nisan, 448 of the Seleucidan era (A. D. April 8, 137), containing a decree of the Palmyrene Senate, fixing the law respecting the taxes on imported merchandise and slaves. It is engraved on

a stone about two metres high by five long, and is divided into four panels, of which the first contains a bilingual text, the second an Aramaic text in three columns, and the third and fourth a Greek text in three columns. The Greek part of the bilingual had already been published, and the Aramean was so little injured that de Vogüé is able to give an almost complete translation, and to correct by it the published Greek text. The Aramaic of the second panel has suffered greatly, and Prince Abamelek, at considerable cost of money and trouble, engaged a photographer to go to Palmyra and make an exact copy of the inscription, which de Vogüé received in time to correct the Aramaic of the first panel, and from which he hopes to make a better translation of that of the second. This inscription is, by its length and distinctness, of great palaeographical importance; it fixes the Palmyrene alphabet of the second century A. D., and thus furnishes a standard by which to fix the date of other ancient Aramean monuments.

Ernest Renan discusses two epigraphic monuments from Edessa, one a bust and inscription, sent him by Salomon Reinach, member of the French School of Athens, the other a mosaic of three human figures with inscription, communicated to him by Clermont-Ganneau. In the second of these the letters are so much blurred that Renan can make nothing of it; his interpretation of the second, in which he formerly saw an allusion to the letter of Christ to Abgarus (*Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Nov. 10, 1882), has been modified by a better reading published by Sachau, *ZDMG*, 1882, p. 158, though he still retains his opinion that it is probably Christian (of the 4th or 5th century), against Sachau, who apparently holds it to be pagan.

Other articles are: *Fragment d'un commentaire sur le Vendîdâd* (continued), by J. Darmesteter. *L'Inscription sanscrite de Han Chey*, by A. Barth. *Étude sur les inscriptions de Piyadasi*, by Senart.

Stanislas Guyard has a note on the Van-inscriptions, and J. Darmesteter one on the connection in Iranian literature between the moon and thought. There is a notice of the recently published works of A. de Longpérier, by E. Babelon; a notice of the Report of the French North-African Commission (appointed to gather Arabic and Berber material), by B. de Meynard; and an account of a curious Persian text, by L. Chodzkiewicz.

Avril-Mai-Juin.

Marcel Devic describes an unedited translation of the Kurân, by the Franciscan Dominicus Germanus, of Silesia, now preserved in the library of the College of Medicine at Montpellier. Germanus lived many years as missionary in the East, chiefly at Ispahan, acquired a fair knowledge of Arabic, and on his return to Europe, went to Spain, where, in the library of the Escorial, he produced his Kurân-translation somewhere between 1650 and 1665. This was before the fire of 1671, which destroyed a vast number of oriental manuscripts, and Germanus had access to all the exegetical riches of the Escorial. Devic thinks that his translation compares not unfavorably with that of Maracci, which it preceded by about thirty years; he gives no specimens. By way of introduction, Devic gives a brief history of the Christian polemical works against Muhammedanism and the Kurân up to the seventeenth century, and a

detailed account of the first translation of the Kurān, which, though not printed till 1543 by Theodore Buchmann (Bibliander), was made in 1143, at the instance of Peter, Abbot of Cluny, by the joint labors of the Englishman Robert Retensis, the Dalmatian Hermann, and two others; it was a somewhat rude production, but remained for several centuries the arsenal whence the Christians got their anti-Muhammedan weapons.

Other articles: Notes de lexicographie berbère, by René Basset. Études bouddhiques, comment on devient Arhati, by Léon Feer. Quelques notions sur les inscriptions en vieux khmer, by Aymonier. Additional note by Clermont-Ganneau to his article in the preceding number on Semitic seals.

De Goeje communicates a notice of Landberg's Proverbes et dictons de la province de Syrie, and B. de Meynard a letter from Basset describing his recent journey in the Berber territory. There is a tribute (read in a meeting of the Société Asiatique, May 11, 1883) to the late Professor Reinhart Dozy, of Leiden, and one (in Tamul) to the late A. G. Burnell, by Julien Vinson.

Juillet.

The July number contains the Annual Report, read by James Darmesteter, July 6, 1883.

C. H. TOV.

Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18 Jahrh. in Neudrucken, herausgeg. von BERNHARD SEUFFERT. Heilbronn, Gebr. Henninger, 1883.

7, 8. Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen vom Jahr 1772. As we learn from the introduction, the principal reason why a reprint of the "Anzeigen" of 1772 has found a place in this series, is evidently the fact that Goethe wrote several critical articles for the Frankfurt journal during that year. If not for other considerations, in this respect alone the collection would be interesting. Apart from certain reviews which undoubtedly were written by Goethe, and are generally published in the collections of his works, the question what *else* he contributed has not yet been decided with absolute certainty. The critical investigator will be amply rewarded, we hope, for his zeal in determining what Goethe must or may have written, and what *a priori* cannot by any means have come from his pen. If we wish to understand the character and influence of the "Anzeigen" of 1772, we must remember that the so-called "Sturm und Drang Periode" had then begun to amaze and revolutionize the literary world of Germany, a movement for which it had been prepared through Lessing's masterly productions. It will be sufficient here to refer merely to Goethe's "Goetz von Berlichingen," the first version of which was written in November of 1771, and to Gerstenberg's fantastic tragedy "Ugolino," which appeared in 1768. Although these two works are very different in regard to poetic merit, yet both of them bear witness to the character of the literary movement of the time.

Among the contributors to the "Anzeigen" of 1772, the only famous author, beside Goethe, was Herder, while there were many men of talent and local reputation who wrote more or less for the journal, but are scarcely known at present. In a preliminary notice of the first number, dated Jan. 3, 1772, the

editors announce that special attention shall be paid to the works of English authors. In fact the first article reviewed is entitled "Brittisches Museum oder Beyträge zur angenehmen Lektüre, aus dem Englischen," etc. In this volume are two articles on German character, and the English writer mentions some distinctive features of the German race which can be seen even at the present day, as, for instance, their thoroughness in literary works, and the fact that the Germans, among all foreign nations, make the best citizens in the countries which they choose for their second home. It is a little doubtful if the following remark of the same author holds good as applied to the present time: "Die Deutschen sind eine Art von Sterblichen, die vor allen mit der Mässigung begabt ist, sich bey jedem nur erträglichen Religions und Staatssystem zu beruhigen."

As a specimen of some of the rather *short* reviews contained in the "Anzeigen" the following may be mentioned. The book in question contains a description of travels through Russia by an English physician. The reviewer says: "Ein elendes Buch von einem unwissenden Medicus und kurzsichtigen Beobachter. Hierzu kommt noch die vollkommenste Unwissenheit in der Landessprache und diese . . . erzeugt die lächerlichste Nachricht."

The journal was established in 1736 and ended its career in 1790. With the year 1773 it began to decline rapidly; the editor of 1773, Bahrdt, praised his friends and censured his enemies without any sense of justice. There was no longer the same free and independent spirit as in 1772; it is evident that a mutual admiration society wielded the sceptre to the exclusion of all true criticism.

9. Karl von Burgund, ein Trauerspiel (nach Aeschylus), von J. J. Bodmer. Although Bodmer had no poetic genius, his endeavors to bring about a new era in German literature must always be thankfully remembered. He deserves great credit for denouncing the slavish imitation of French models, and for recommending to his countrymen the works of English authors, especially those of Milton, as examples of true literary merit. He knew at least—what Gottsched did *not* know—that the power of imagination was an important element in the composition of poetic works. Bodmer's literary productions are now nearly forgotten; the work which was best known at the time is an epic poem entitled "Die Noachide," the subject of which is the Deluge.

The tragedy "Karl von Burgund" appeared in the "Schweizer Journal," of 1771, a short-lived and obscure publication. Bodmer's work is entitled to receive some attention, especially as Aeschylus might claim the tragedy as well as Bodmer. It is not so much a close imitation of "The Persians" as a translation. Many passages might be given to prove this fact; we may here mention only one: Pers. V 10, *κακόμαντις ἄγαν ὀρσολοπεῖται θυμὸς ἔσωθεν* = Karl, p. 5, Mein Herz pocht inwendig . . . und weissaget Unglück.

The names and scenes are changed. Xerxes is Karl, the deeds of the Greek heroes are transferred to the warlike exploits of the Swiss freemen against the Burgundians, Athens is Bern, Salamis becomes Murten. Bodmer's translation is prosaic, both in spirit and in form; yet there are a few passages which are not devoid of poetic beauty.

10. Versuch einiger Gedichte von F. v. Hagedorn. Friedrich von Hagedorn was born in 1708. The present work, dated 1729, contains his earliest poems,

when he was only 21 years old. No critic could judge them more severely than he did himself in later years. In 1745 he wrote to a friend that he would have liked to purchase every copy of the book and destroy it. Yet the work as it is betrays, to a great extent, the latent talent of the genuine bard, who afterwards distinguished himself by his lyric and didactic poems. The tendency to imitate French models is evident, while, on the other hand, the influence of Horace can be distinctly seen in this first attempt. Some of the poems contained in this collection appeared later in a greatly modified form. Hagedorn is still well known, especially by his little fable, "Ein verhungert Hühnchen fand einen feinen Diamant," and by the song, "Der Nachtigall reizende Lieder ertönen und locken schon wieder."

II. *Der Messias*. Erster, zweiter, und dritter Gesang, von F. G. Klopstock. When Klopstock left the old and famous school of Pforta, in September of 1745, the first plan of his "Messias" was nearly finished. He was then 21 years old; the idea of giving to the world a Christian epic had occupied his mind long before that time, and was greatly strengthened by the influence of Milton's "Paradise Lost." In the winter semester of 1745-46, at Jena, he began to write down the first three cantos of the "Messias" in poetic prose, which, in the summer of 1746, was changed to the form of the classic hexameter. These three cantos appeared first in 1748 in "Neue Beyträge zum Vergnügen des Verstandes und Witzes. Vierter Band, viertes und fünftes Stück. Bremen und Leipzig." The editors of the journal, although very friendly towards the author, were at first reluctant to publish the manuscript, since not only the subject itself, but the manner and form in which it was treated, seemed to them an undertaking of too much boldness. Their hesitation was finally overcome by Bodmer's enthusiastic approval of the work. As to the subject, there are passages which in spite of their sublimity were calculated to disturb the tranquillity of pious minds of a certain character. We may mention in this connection the famous words of Jesus, beginning on the 134th line of the first canto: "Ich hebe gen Himmel mein Haupt auf, Meine Hand in die Wolken, und schwöre dir bey mir selber, Der ich Gott bin, wie du: Ich will die Menschen erlösen." As to the versification, attempts to introduce the form of the hexameter had been made before the time of Klopstock, but nothing remarkable had been accomplished. Thus in a certain sense Klopstock had to create his metre, and his ventures, although at times not successful from an artistic point of view, deserve great credit.

It is now difficult to conceive of the enthusiastic reception with which the first three cantos of the *Messias* were greeted by the literary world and the educated public in general. The continuation of the poem was expected with glowing interest. To the great disappointment of Klopstock's friends, the fourth and fifth cantos were not finished before 1751. Then the work dragged along for many years; in 1755 the first ten cantos appeared together, but the whole epic was not completed before 1773. Thus, between the publication of the first and that of the last canto, twenty-five years had elapsed. There is no doubt that this long interval between the appearance of the earlier portions of the poem and the publication of the last part diminished the interest in the whole work. Yet there were other reasons that brought about this result; a great change had been accomplished in the whole field of German literature



at the time when the conclusion of the *Messias* appeared. The strife between Gottsched and Bodmer had ceased and was wellnigh forgotten; Lessing and Herder were the victorious champions on the new battleground, and the movement of the "Storm and Stress" had begun. The times were changed, but Klopstock's poetry had remained the same, or rather, apart from technical improvements, the last portions of the *Messias* were in spirit and in conception inferior to the beginning of the poem. The reading of the first three cantos can be recommended to all lovers of epic literature; moreover, they are interesting from more than one point of view.

12. *Vier Kritische Gedichte*, von J. J. Bodmer. 13. *Die Kindermörderin. Ein Trauerspiel*, von H. L. Wagner. 14. *Ephemerides und Volkslieder*, von Goethe. 15. *Gustav Wasa*, von C. Brentano. Each of these four volumes requires but a brief notice. No. 12 contains four poems of Bodmer. The first of them, "Character der Teutschen Gedichte," is the best and most important, as Bodmer gives here a well-drawn picture of German literature from its beginning to his own time, and a particularly good account of the poets of the 17th century. The second poem, "Die Drollingerische Muse," can be called a continuation of the first; both were written during the earlier part of Bodmer's life, and show him to his best advantage. The third poem, "Untergang der berühmten Namen," and the fourth, "Bodmer nicht verkannt," were composed during his last years, and betray the envy of the man who felt that his glory was gone and that greater minds had arisen on the literary horizon.

No. 13 is very interesting in so far as it furnishes material for comparison with Schiller's "Kabale und Liebe," and with Margarethe in Goethe's "Faust." The work appeared anonymously in 1776. In regard to its form as well as to its contents it is a good specimen of some of the productions by which the so-called Storm and Stress period was characterized; it is strong, rude, and realistic.

Anything that emanated from Goethe is always welcome; therefore No. 14 of this series will find many readers. Among the popular songs given in this collection there are some which are very famous, even at the present day, and others that are but too well known.

At first sight the reading of No. 15 by any one unacquainted with the real idea of the author, will produce a kind of mental condition similar to that which the commentators of Goethe enjoyed when they tried to explain the "Hexeneinmaleins" in *Faust*. After studying the introduction to the work, by Professor Minor, of Prague, the meaning and purpose of Brentano become sufficiently clear. We have no space here to enter into details, and, moreover, the charm of novelty must not be destroyed. Yet among the so-called personages of the play we may mention the following: Kotzebue's ass, a lamp, a cat, the mayor of Lübeck, an officer in convulsions, a mathematical point, centaurs, an atheist, a librarian, the works of Ovid, Tertullian, etc.

D.

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#### ROMANIA. No. 39.

M. A. Thomas has found in the Vatican a number of documents which are of some importance for the literary history of the 14th century. A papal bull dated July 11th, 1295, gives some interesting information concerning Jaufré

de Foixa. M. Thomas thinks it probable that the author of the treatise on poetry is the same "Monge de Foissan" to whom we owe three lyric pieces, published in Bartsch's *Grundriss*, No. 304. A papal bull of Aug. 19th, 1295, relates to a journey which the troubadour Luchetto Gattilusio undertook in 1295 as Genoese ambassador to the papal court. Four bulls issued between A. D. 1330 and A. D. 1335 have reference to the author of *Voir dit*, Guillaume de Machaut, and it appears from these documents that the latter is not identical, as has been supposed by Paulin Paris and other scholars, with Guillaume de Machau, son of the Pierre de Machau, chamberlain of the king.

M. J. Cornu gives a large number of Portuguese words in which light vowels, especially in unaccented syllables, have been affected by the neighborhood of labial consonants.

A. Lambrior, *Essai de phonétique roumaine*. (Continued.)

M. E. Legrand has given a very pretty collection of popular Norman songs, collected at Fontenay-le-Marmison. It would have added to their scientific value if they had been reproduced in their original dialectic form, which has been preserved to some extent in the last one only.

Gaston Paris points out that *nūptias* (*nūbere*) should have given in Ital. *nuzze*, in Prov. *nussas*, in Fr. *nuces*, but we find *nōzze*, *nōssas*, *nōces*, which forms evidently go back to an original *ð*, due to an analogy with *nōvo* and its derivatives. The bride was called in Latin *nova nupta*, hence the word *novia* common to several of the Romance languages; the groom being called *novio*, Span. *novio*, *novia*; Port. *noivo*, *noiva*; Prov. Catal. *novi*, *novia*.

J. Cornu proposes *igitur* as etymon for the O. F. particle *gieres*, *giere*: *igitur* > *\*igetur* > *\*i(g)edro* > *\*iedre* > *\*ierre*, etc.

Gaston Paris, on the etymology of *estrumelé*.

J. Cornu, on the value of *Ch* in Old Norman.

J. Fleury thinks that the Norm. *no*, *noz* = Fr. *on* is not, as has been supposed by Havet, the Latin *nos*, but is due to an assimilation of *l* > *n* in *l'on* > *non* > *no*.

J. Cornu makes some little contributions to Spanish etymology. He treats of *falagar* *halagar*, *mienna*, and Old Span. *regunzar*; the latter he takes from Lat. *renuntiare* > *re-untiare* > *regunzar*.

Don Victor Balaguer asserts in his *Historia política y literaria de los Trovadores* that, according to an Old Span. MS, which he claims to have seen himself, Alphonse X gave a free city, *una villa franca*, to the troubadours, who had been driven from the South of France. Paul Meyer ingeniously points out that this very strange assertion is probably due to a curious misunderstanding of Diez' *Poesie der Troubadours*, p. 61: "und besonders Alphons X (1252-84) welcher, nachdem die Höfe von Provence und Toulouse verschwunden waren, den letzten umherirrenden Dichtern eine *Freistätte* gewährte."

Antoine Thomas, No. 44 of Gonzague's catalogue of French MSS.

J. Fleury, *Le battoué cassé*, a Breton rondel.

The *Comptes Rendus* contain a favorable notice by G. Paris of Hofmann and Muncker's edition of Jouffroy, and an extensive and not very favorable criticism upon Godefroy's Dictionary, by A. Darmstetter.

No. 40.

Gaston Paris, *Études sur les romans de la table ronde*. M. Paris promises to bring out, at a later date, what we expect to be a most interesting essay on this very difficult subject; in the meantime he satisfies our curiosity by an exposition of his general theories concerning the various works in poetry and prose relating to the legend of the round table. The Breton epics are the product of the contact of French society with the Celts. In the development of each legend we must distinguish three stages: its ancient Celtic form, its Anglo-Norman form, and lastly the French adaptation. All works relating to the round table must be divided into two classes: (a) "les romans biographiques." In these, some one member of the round table plays the principal part, the court of Arthur is hardly more than the point of departure, Arthur and his wife take a very subordinate position, they receive the hero at the beginning and crown him in the end. (b) The second class of works gives a more prominent position to Arthur and his wife; they present especially, in the relation of Lancelot to Guenièvre, a new conception of love; they add to the ancient Celtic elements of adventure, courtesy and love, that of religion and even of mysticism. To the first class belong Erec, Ivain, Lancelot, Yder, Durmart, Giglain, etc.; to the second, Saint Graal, Merlin, Arthur, Lancelot, *Queste du saint graal*, *Mort Arthur*. M. Paris then discusses the contents and the authorship of the German *Lanzelet* of Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, the French original of which is lost, and shows conclusively that the troubadour Arnaut Daniel cannot be the author, as has been supposed by Adelung, Raynouard and Fauriel. Neither in this poem, nor in any other of the period, mention is made of an unlawful love between *Lanzelet* and Guenièvre, whence M. Paris concludes that this part of the legend must belong to a later period and must have originated in France. It is to be hoped that M. Paris will soon give us the continuation of his most interesting article.

Alfred Morel-Fabio, *Mélanges de littérature catalane*. I. *L'amant, la femme et le confesseur*. Conte en vers du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Introduction, text and glossary. This little poem is taken from the same MS (library of Carpentras, No. 377) from which we have already Mussafia's *Catalanische metrische Version der sieben weisen Meister*, and Foerster's *En Buch et de son cheval*.

Gaston Raynaud, *Le ju de le capete Martinet* (Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. franc. No. 1731). A poem of 553 lines, probably by Mahiu le Poirier, and written about A. D. 1300 by a Picard scribe.

Paul Meyer, *La farce des trois commères*. From a Turin MS (H. 3. 26). P. M. concludes that this little farce originated in Savoy.

E. Cosquin gives the last series of his collection of Lorraine tales.

Victor Smith gives Velay and Forez versions of two well-known French songs, "*Renaud*," and "*La porcheronne*."

The *Mélanges* contain various little contributions by Joret, Cornu, G. Paris, A. Thomas, and a *Fragment inédit des Tournois de Chauvenci* de Jacques Bretel, by P. Meyer. G. Paris reviews Weidner's *Prosaroman von Joseph von Arimathia*, and tries hard to say some pleasant words about L. Adam's work on the Lorraine dialects.

H. C. G. v. JAGEMANN.

Kreolische Studien. Nos. IV und V. Von HUGO SCHUCHARDT. Wien, 1883.

No. V of this interesting series is of no particular value philologically, though Dr. Schuchardt, its author, has extracted it as a *separatdruck* from the transactions of the Vienna Kais. Acad. der Wissenschaften. It treats of Melanesian English—that incredible compound of word-scrap gathered, in one instance at least, from New Caledonian, Chinese, English and French words; *e. g.* *Tayos lookout belong faya* = Friends, look out for the fire! Of what earthly interest can such linguistic offal be, call it Creole or call it what you please, except to show off the monstrous doings in the South seas? 'Pidgin-Melanesian'—of which No. V treats—is the work of trepang-catchers, whale-men, sandalwood hunters, and missionaries; and a pretty mess it is. Dr. Schuchardt's usually clear and sure instinct deserts him when he adopts, as faithful reproductions of one of these *mestizo* lingos, such phonetically untrue specimens as the following: Capsize that big fellow pellate and give master small fellow pellate (empty the big plate and give your master a small one). 'Uncle Remus' could teach him far better.

In No. IV, which treats of the contact of Philippine Island Spanish with the native Tagil, we have an instructive and interesting specimen of Schuchardt's studies which, in this series, he defines to be preliminary to a larger work. In this Malayan Spanish we have genuine native wit and ingenuity at work elaborating, through centuries of contact and attrition, a dialect which has a distinct physiognomy, which is a growth, which is not the result of a fortuitous assemblage of grating and unharmonized elements. Here we have working a healthy instinct and not the *σάβρον τι* which Miltiades felt tempted to suspect the Athenians of; linguistic problems of value have been wrought out by these remote Orientals, and Dr. Schuchardt does a real service in collecting and presenting them.

J. A. H.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Cobbett (W.) The English grammar; by Alfred Ayres. *Appleton*. 16mo. \$1.00.

Knapp (W. I.) Modern French readings. *Ginn, Heath & Co.* 12mo. \$1.65.

### BRITISH.

Æschyli Fabulæ (IKETIAEΞ XOHΦOΠOI) in Libro Mediceo Mendose Scriptae ex VV. D.D. coniecturis emendatius editae cum Scholiis Graecis et brevi adnotatione critica, curante F. A. Paley. 8vo, 140 pp. *Cambridge Warehouse*. 7s. 6d.

Brooks (W. H. S.) Vestiges of the Broken Plural in Hebrew. Royal 8vo, sd., 20 pp. Dublin, *Ponsonby. Simpkin*. 1s.

Brown (Robert). The Myth of Kirke, including the Visit of Odysseus to the Shades: An Homeric Study. 8vo. *Longmans*. 5s.

Cicero. De Natura Deorum. Libri Tres, with Introduction and Commentary by Joseph B. Mayor. Vol. 2, 8vo, 330 pp. *Cambridge Warehouse*. 12s. 6d.

— Somnium Scipionis. Edited by W. D. Pearman. (Pitt Press Series.) 12mo, 56 pp. *Cambridge Warehouse*. 2s.

— De Finibus Libri Quinque. The Text Revised and Explained by J. S. Reid. 3 vols. Vol. 3 containing the Translation. 8vo, 186 pp. *Cambridge Warehouse*. 8s.

Demosthenes' Oration against Meidias. Edited for Schools by C. A. M. Fennell. 12mo. *Hamilton*. 5s.

Dennis (George). The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria. With Map, Plans, and Illustrations. 2 vols., 8vo, 1190 pp. *Murray*. 21s.

Euripides. Iphigenia among the Tauri. Edited, with Introduction and Critical and Explanatory Notes, by E. B. England. 12mo, 290 pp. *Macmillan*. 4s. 6d.

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Jaschke (H. A.) Tibetan Grammar. Cr. 8vo. *Trübner*. 5s.

Plautus. Trinummus. With Notes and Introduction by C. E. Freeman and Rev. A. Sloman. 12mo, 746 pp. *Frowde*. 3s.

Pope (Rev. G. N.) A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language. In 3 parts. Part 2, 8vo. *W. H. Allen*. 12s. 6d.



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Thompson (F. E.) A Syntax of Attic Greek. Cr. 8vo, 467 pp. *Rivingtons*. 8s. 6d.

Virgil's Eclogues. English Version. By Samuel Palmer. With Illustrations by the author. Folio, 116 pp. *Seeley*. 21s.

— *Æneid*. Book 9. Edited, with English Notes, by A. Sidgwick. (Pitt Press Series.) 12mo, 80 pp. *Cambridge Warehouse*. 1s. 6d.

Wedderburn (A. D. O.), and Collingwood (W. G.) The Economist of Xenophon. Edited, with a Preface, by Professor Ruskin. 8vo. (Bibliotheca Pastorum.) Orpington, *Allen*. 7s. 6d.

Xenophon's Hiero. With Introduction, Notes, and Critical Appendix, by the Rev. Hubert A. Holden. 12mo, 172 pp. *Macmillan*. 3s. 6d.

#### DANISH.

Ólsen (B. M.) Runerne i den oldislandske Literatur. Kjobenhavn, 1883. 8vo, 150 pp. 3m.

#### FRENCH.

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Webster (G. H.) A presentation of the grammar of New English, beginning with the age of Elizabeth. Pittsburgh, Penn., *Herald Printing Office*, 1883.

Weil (Henri). Les Plaidoyers Politiques de Demosthène. Première Série. Leptine—Midias—Ambassade—Couronne. Paris, *Hachette et Cie*, 1883.

Wessely, *Prolegomena ad papyrorum Graecorum novam collectionem edendam*. Vienna, *Carl Gerold's Sohn*, 1883. 3m.

Wulfstan. Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebene Homilien, nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit, herausg. v. Arthur Napier. Erste Abtheilung. Text u. Varianten. Berlin, *Weidmann*. 7m.

Zorzi (Bertolome), *Der Troubadour*. Herausg. v. Emil Levy. Halle, *Max Niemeyer*, 1883. 2m. 40.

BRIEF MENTION.—The first number of the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* has appeared. It is a beautiful volume, sumptuous beyond the dreams of philologists of an earlier day, and is embellished with an engraving of the statue of Wilhelm von Humboldt.

The editor is Dr. F. TECHMER of the University of Leipzig. The contributors are A. F. POTT (Einleitung in die allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, 1-68); F. TECHMER (Naturwissenschaftliche Analyse u. Synthese der hörbaren Sprache, 69-170, profusely illustrated; Transkription mittels der lateinischen Kursivschrift, 171-92); G. MALLERY (Sign Language, 193-210); FRIEDRICH MÜLLER (Sind die Lautgesetze Naturgesetze? 211-14); MAX MÜLLER (Zephyros u. Gähusha, 215-17); L. ADAM (De la catégorie du genre, 218-20); A. H. SAYCE (The person-endings of the Indo-European verb, 222-5); KARL BRUGMAN (Zur Frage nach den Verwandtschaftsverhältnissen der Idg. Sprachen, 226-56).

A detailed account of some of the more important articles may be expected in the next number of this Journal. Meantime it must suffice to call attention to this new enterprise, with its princely outset.—(Leipzig, F. A. Barth, 1884.)

In 1881, M. HENRI WEIL gave us a second edition of his *Harangues de Demosthène*. This has been followed by a second edition of the *Plaidoyers Politiques de Demosthène. Première série: Leptine—Midias—Ambassade—Couronne*. The critical work of this eminent scholar needs no characterisation. The commentary ought to be studied by editors as a pattern. Clear, compact, sensible, free from wearisome grammatical notes, and illustrations that do not illustrate, marked by rare command of the literature, and an equally rare generosity in acknowledging obligation, modelled, in short, by the hand of a master who does not need to call the attention of the reader from the text to admire the commentator. Here and there grammatical knots are cut too sharply, but after all it is delightful to have a Demosthenes in which we are not insulted by a long discussion of everyday constructions.—(Paris, Hachette et Cie.)

The first volume of Professor JEBB's long-expected Sophokles has appeared. It contains the *Oedipus Tyrannus* with an English prose translation facing the Greek text. Professor Jebb's delicate touch in all matters of style gives his work in Greek poetry an especial charm. The metres are presented according to J. H. H. Schmidt, with ample acknowledgment of the service rendered by Professor J. W. White, of Harvard, in making Schmidt's system accessible to the English reading public. It may be added here, as a matter of history, that as far back as 1872, six years before White's translation of Schmidt's *Leitfaden* appeared, Schmidt's system was employed and his schemes given in the Latin grammar of the editor of this Journal. Professor Jebb also gives copious extracts from Mr. Norman's enthusiastic book on the Harvard Greek play, and



this cordial recognition of the work that has been done for Sophokles on our side of the water will increase, if anything could, the warmth of welcome with which this edition of the Oedipus will be received by American scholars. A more detailed notice may be expected. Allusion has been made to the service rendered by Professor WHITE's translation of Schmidt. A new service, which will be appreciated by a still larger circle of scholars, is to be recognized in the editing of Hofmann's *Question of a Division of the Philosophical Faculty*, that memorable paper, which has done more to put the study of the classics, as an educational organon, on its true basis than any treatise of modern times. If the unthinking clamor that has been raised against the study of the classics has had the effect of bringing into fresh notice and introducing to wider circles this unanswerable argument of the Berlin faculty, it is well.—(Boston, Ginn, Heath & Co., 1883.)

The new edition of CAUER's *Delectus Inscriptionum Graecarum propter dialectum memorabilium* is twice as bulky as the first, containing, as it does, 470 numbers and 354 pp. Cauer's *Delectus* in its original form was found to be an important aid in the study of Greek dialects, and the increased material of the second edition will heighten its usefulness. For beginners, fewer inscriptions and more notes would have been desirable, and, indeed, the book postulates a teacher and seems to be intended as a syllabus for lectures rather than as a handbook for private study. For purpose of investigation one must have even more material, but for purposes of illustration and ready reference it will be welcome to all.—(Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1883.)

*Babrii Fabulae.* Recensuit MICHAEL GITLBAUER. Vienna, Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1882. This is the edition of Babrius that Rutherford treated with such needless severity in his own edition. It is not necessary to reproduce Rutherford's strictures, especially as an examination of the Rutherford text will show that the merciless critic has followed Gitlbauer too often to make his onslaught on the Viennese scholar becoming. It will not do to say that a man knows no Greek because he does not know as much about certain points of Greek as, for instance, Mr. Rutherford, whose introduction to Phrynichos has been well received by German scholars, in spite of its rhetoric. To be sure, Mr. Rutherford concedes to Gitlbauer 'native acuteness,' and that is some consolation, a consolation that cannot be accorded to many people, as the world is constituted. Gitlbauer's edition has no exegesis; Rutherford disdains to go at length into grammatical and lexical questions in his notes, unless it suits him, and there is much useful work yet to be done in Babrius for the history of constructions. By the way, it is sometimes hard for a man, who has not attained to Rutherford's knowledge, to appreciate his difficulties. So, for instance, he confesses that he is completely at a loss as to XXIII 5 δυστυχῆς δ' ἐπαῖται | καὶ βοῦν προσάξειν εἰ φύγοι γε τὸν κλέπτην. 'In what sense can ἐπαῖται with a future infinitive be used?' he asks. The answer seems to be given by Eur. I. A. 57 sqq.: καὶ νῦν εἰσῆλθεν τάδε | . . . μνηστῆρας . . . σπονδὰς καθῆναι καπαράσασθαι τάδε, | ὅτου γυνὴ γένοιτο Τυνδαρίς κόρη, | τοῦτ' ὅσον ἀμύνειν . . . κάπιστρατεύσειν καὶ κατασκάψειν.

*Die Quellen der Alexanderhistoriker*, von ARTHUR FRÄNKEL. Of this elaborate work we can only sum up the chief results. The author declines to accept the theory which explains the coincidences of the various historians of Alex-

ander by the assumption of a common collective work on which all the historians drew for their information. According to FRÄNKEL, Curtius, Diodoros and Justin go back to Kleitarchos, not Kleitarchos pure and simple, but Kleitarchos more or less corrupted. Diodoros' Kleitarchos was not much spoiled by additions or misunderstandings, but the source of Diodoros was still further troubled by bad materials before it reached Trogus, and before it got to Curtius a number of little changes were made and large additions put in from good quarters, especially from Aristobulos. Arrian used chiefly Ptolemaios and Aristobulos, the latter more than the former. Besides these authors, Arrian made use of Eratosthenes, Nearchos, Megasthenes, Kleitarchos and Hieronymus, besides other historians. Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, consulted a large number of authors in the original. His principal sources are Kleitarchos, Aristobulos, Chares, Onesikritos, the letters of Alexander, the Ephemerides and Hermippos.

The coincidences between Curtius, Diodoros and Justin, on the one hand, and Arrian, on the other, are never perfect, there are always discrepancies, and the differences from Arrian are common to Curtius and Diodoros. This shows that Kleitarchos, the great source of Curtius and Diodoros, used the same authorities as Aristobulos, the great source of Arrian, and that the modifications are due to Kleitarchos and Aristobulos themselves. Another result which Dr. Fränkel has reached is the point to which Kallisthenes continued his work, which is fixed at 328. As to the credit of the various authors, the honesty of Curtius is vindicated against Kaerst. Arrian is honest in the use of his materials, and Diodoros' credit, already good, is not shaken. Trogus (Justin) is also an honorable man, and Plutarch, considering the multiplicity of his sources, which he worked over in his own way, has not been guilty of many derelictions.—(Breslau, J. M. Kern's Verlag, Max Müller, 1883.)

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#### ERRATA VOL. IV.

p. 57, line 10 from bottom, for *ἡμιν* read *ἡμῶν*.

p. 88, line 20 from bottom, read 'So in Homer *εἰπέ τε μῦθον* = Attic *τάδε* *εἶπεν*.'

p. 91, line 8 from top. This statement of Sturm's should not have passed unchallenged: *πρὸ τοῦ* occurs, instead of *πρὶν* occurs earlier. Comp. Thuk.

3, 68, 1: *πρὸ τοῦ περιτελιζέσθαι* with 3, 64, 1: *πρὶν περιτελιζέσθαι*.

p. 220, line 4 from bottom, for *trahe* read *trahere*.

p. 305, line 15 from top, for 'Phileus' read 'Philebus.'

p. 316, note, for "No. 35" read "No. 25."

A few misplaced accents have been noted. On page 373, line 8 from bottom, for *ἀγλαον* read *ἀγλᾶν*; but American Hellenists will readily correct such errors for themselves.



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